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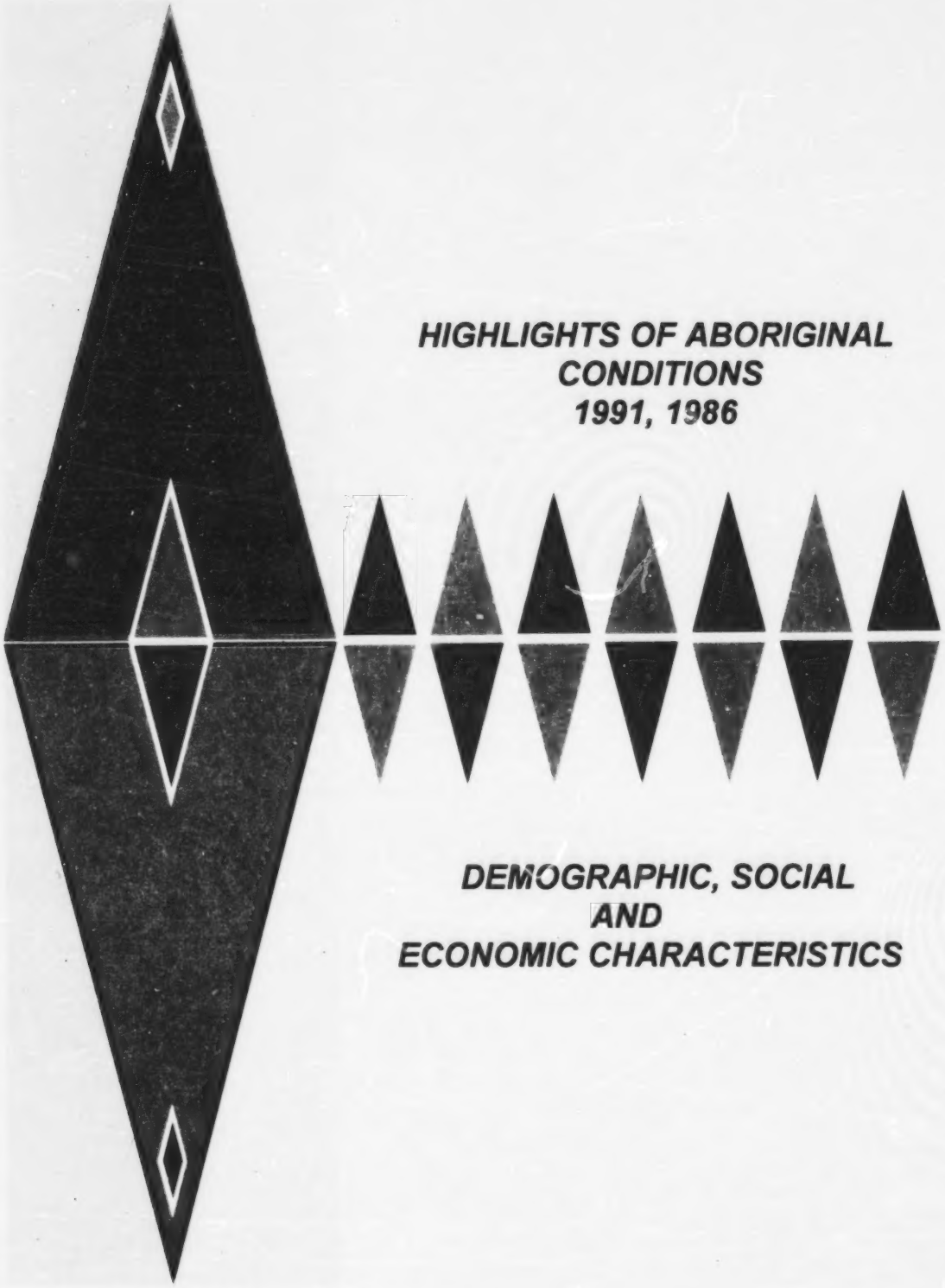

HIGHLIGHTS OF ABORIGINAL CONDITIONS 1991, 1986

DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Canada

Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1991, 1986 Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics

INFORMATION QUALITY AND RESEARCH DIRECTORATE
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DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

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Key Findings

This report compares and contrasts measures of demographic, social and economic activity for Registered Indians, other Aboriginal groups and the non-Aboriginal population. Data presented for each of these groups is based entirely upon the *Census of Population* (1991 and 1986). All of the specific ethnicity and geography variables used in this report are based upon customized census tabulations developed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and derived from Statistics Canada's *Census of Population* in both 1991 and 1986. Findings contained in this report are summarized by section.

Key Demographic Characteristics

- With the exception of the Inuit, ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** represented the most youthful population of any group examined in this study. In both 1991 and 1986, nearly 40 percent of on-reserve Indians were aged 15 years or less.

- In 1991, the age distribution of ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** was markedly different from that of the non-Aboriginal Canadian population. The greatest variation occurred in the cohort aged 65 or more, which accounted for only 3.3 percent of Registered Indians living off reserve, but fully 11.8 percent of the non-Aboriginal Canadian population.

- The structure of the ***Inuit*** population is characterized by a large youthful component as well. In both 1991 and 1986, the cohort under the age of 25 represented around six-tenths of the entire Inuit population.

- In 1991, 36.8 percent of the ***Métis population*** was under the age of 15, down slightly from the 37.1 percent level reported in 1986. This compares closely to the dynamics evident in most of the other Aboriginal groups, lying somewhere between the characteristics of Registered Indians living off reserve and Registered Indians living on reserve.

- In 1991, ***Aboriginal Canadians*** aged 5 years or more reported a higher degree of mobility than their non-Aboriginal counterparts, with 58.5 percent indicating a change in physical location from the preceding five year period (Boxes 1-9a and 1-11a). By contrast, 46.2 percent of the non-Aboriginal population reported a change in location between 1986 and 1991.

- Comparing census results for 1991 and 1986, a fundamental change in the geographic scale of movement is evident for ***Aboriginal Canadians***. The components of 'movement' reveal substantial changes for Aboriginal persons, with the principal type of movement shifting away from the census subdivision (CSD) in 1986 (58.8 percent of all moves) towards intra-provincial migration in 1991 (49.6 percent of all moves). Interprovincial migration among Aboriginal people grew from just 10.6 percent to 24.7 percent of all moves between 1986 and 1991.

- Movers among ***Registered Indians on reserve*** aged 15 to 24 constituted 43.4 percent of respondents in 1991, up from 40.5 percent in 1986. The greatest number of moves in 1991 were classified as intra-provincial moves outside of the same CSD (45.6 percent, up from just 20.3 percent in 1986). Moves that occurred within the same CSD accounted for 40.9 percent of cases in 1991, down by almost half from the 1986 level of 76.5 percent.

- ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** reported the highest levels of mobility for any of the Aboriginal sub-groups examined in this study. In 1991, 67.8 percent of all respondents were classified as movers, down from 70 percent in 1986.

- Among ***Inuit persons*** aged 15-24, mobility levels reported for 1991 were only slightly higher than those occurring for the entire Inuit population. In 1991, 58.9 percent of the 15-24 cohort were classified as movers, a substantial expansion over the 1986 figure of 53.2 percent.

- In 1991, 60.5 percent of the ***Métis population*** aged 5 years or more indicated that they had moved sometime in the previous five year period, approximately half-way between the extremely high rates prevailing in the Registered Indian off reserve population and those experienced by the non-Aboriginal population.

- ***Registered Indians*** represented a sizeable share of the Aboriginal Population in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in both 1991 and 1986. In the more recent census year, the province with the highest proportion of Registered Indians as a component of Aboriginal presence in CMAs was Saskatchewan (42.3 percent) followed by Manitoba (30.1 percent), B.C. (25.4 percent) and Alberta (24.9 percent).

- In general, population indicators developed for this study reveal that substantial structural differences exist between the various ***Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations***. For every Aboriginal group examined here, much higher dependency ratios and lower aging indices are reported than occurs among the non-Aboriginal populace.

Key Social Characteristics

- In 1991, ***Aboriginal*** families headed by either a single male or female accounted for 18.1 percent of all households, down slightly from the 1986 level of 19.3 percent. Within lone-parent Aboriginal families, females represented the family head 86.7 percent of the time in 1991, up from the 85 percent level reported in 1986.

- ***Registered Indian families living on reserve*** were headed by a lone-parent in 22.8 percent of cases reported in 1991, down from the 24.4 percent rate reported in 1986. A female parent headed these families three-quarters of the time in 1991, up slightly from 1986.

- Single parent families were most prevalent among ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** in both 1991 and 1986. In the more recent census year, 26.5 percent of off-reserve Indian families were headed by a lone-parent, down from the 29.9 percent rate in 1986.

- Within ***Inuit*** lone-parent families, in 1991 women constituted the head of the family in 79.9 percent of cases, a substantial increase over the 1986 figure of 73.4 percent.

- While 25.4 percent of ***Métis*** households were headed by a lone-parent in 1991, 85.4 percent of these were in turn headed by a female. In the same census year, this level was only exceeded by Registered Indian families living off reserve.

- In 1991, 16.9 percent of ***Aboriginal persons*** reported that their mother tongue was an Amerindian language, down from 18.6 percent in 1986.

- An Amerindian language as mother tongue was reported for 50.3 percent of ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** in 1991, up from 46.6 percent in 1986, while ***Inuit*** persons indicated Inuktitut as their mother tongue in 74.3 percent of cases, up from 62.4 percent in 1986.

- For the overall ***Aboriginal population***, the disability rate (consisting of those without long-term limitations and those who identified themselves as disabled and limited) was 9 percent in 1991, down slightly from 9.1 percent in 1986. Of those persons declaring themselves disabled in 1991, just over 11 percent were limited by their condition, almost unchanged from 1986.

Key Economic Characteristics

- In general, substantial gaps in group success rates still characterize comparisons between the ***Aboriginal*** and ***non-Aboriginal*** population on most indicators.

- With some exceptions, differences between ***Aboriginal*** and ***non-Aboriginal*** measures of economic success narrowed between the two census events.

- The characteristics presented in this report suggest that the economic circumstances of the ***Registered Indian population on and off reserve*** improved between 1986 and 1991.

- In some instances, ***on- and off-reserve Registered Indians*** reported markedly different economic experiences over the two censual periods. These were most apparent for measures of income composition, labour force activity and educational attainment.

- The number of ***Aboriginal*** persons **not** in the labour force declined for all Aboriginal groups between 1986 and 1991.

- Government income as a component of total income grew for ***Registered Indians residing on reserve*** between 1986 and 1991, while declining slightly for ***off-reserve Registered Indians*** over the same period.

- Expressed in 1986 constant dollars, average individual incomes for all ***Aboriginal Canadians*** increased by 30.5 percent between 1986 and 1991. For ***non-Aboriginal Canadians***, the rate of increase was only 6.9 percent.

- In each censual year, a direct relationship is apparent between educational attainment levels and various measures of economic success for the ***Aboriginal population*** as a whole. Moreover, this relationship holds for Aboriginal sub-groups. In fact, for Aboriginal persons with a university degree, labour force participation rates and employment rates are better than those that occur in the ***non-Aboriginal population***.

- In both 1991 and 1986, irrespective of educational attainment, ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** continued to lag behind all ***Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians*** in terms of labour force participation levels and rates of employment. Still, the gap between on-reserve Registered Indians and all Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal Canadians narrowed over the study period.

Note to Users

Understanding the Differences in Registered Indian Population Counts

In both 1991 and 1986, the number of Registered Indians reported by the Census of Population (Census) was substantially lower than the Registered Indian count maintained by DIAND's Indian Register (Register). Most of the overall difference in counts produced by Statistics Canada (STC) and DIAND for the Registered Indian population total was attributable to variations in the on-reserve count (Table 1).

Table 1-1. Registered Indian population counts, Register and Census 1991, 1986

Year	Measure	Register count	Register ratio on:off	Census count	Census ratio on:off	Register less Census	Census count as percent of Register count
1991	On-reserve	304,759		190,330		114,429	0.62
	Off-reserve	207,032		195,470		11,562	0.94
	Total	**511,791**	***59.5 : 40.5***	**385,800**	***49.3 : 50.7***	**125,991**	**0.75**
1986	On-reserve	264,187		164,310		99,877	0.62
	Off-reserve	123,642		98,945		24,697	0.80
	Total	**387,829**	***68.1 : 31.9***	**263,245**	***62.4 : 37.6***	**124,584**	**0.68**

Sources:
DIAND, *Indian Register*: 1991, 1986.
STC, *Census of Population*: 1991, 1986.

Historically, two counts of the Registered Indian population have been maintained by the federal government. Chapter I, Section 5 (1) of the *Indian Act* requires that the name of every person entitled to be a Registered Indian be recorded and maintained by DIAND. Furthermore, Chapter I, Section 8 of the *Indian Act (1985)* requires that an eligible band membership list be maintained for each band as outlined within the *Act*.

With some exceptions, each band list represents a collection of individual Registered Indians, whose unique life events (i.e., birth, adoption, marriage, death, reinstatement) are chronicled by either the band or by the Departmental Registrar. Irrespective of where responsibility for maintenance of the band list lies, information for entitled Registered Indians contained therein is ultimately stored in an administrative database controlled by DIAND. The database and its supporting methodology are known as the Indian Registration System (IRS).

By design, the principal function of the IRS database is to provide DIAND with an instrument that legally establishes Registered Indians. Additionally, the IRS imposes fiduciary accountability upon DIAND by recording key life events for all individuals Registered in accordance with the terms of the *Indian Act*. Thus, the IRS is used to verify the legitimacy of individual claims to benefits and entitlements as outlined by the *Act*. Within DIAND, the Indian Registration and Band Lists Directorate exercises stewardship over the Register, as directed by the *Indian Act (1985)*.

In addition to DIAND's Register, another count of the Registered Indian population is produced as part of the Census of Population (Census). The *Statistics Act (1971)* directs the Chief Statistician of Canada to undertake a comprehensive Census of the population on a decennial basis. Additionally, a five year Census of reduced scope and breadth is also required. Chapter S-19, Sections 1-3 of the *Statistics Act* directs STC to solicit, without exception, all individuals resident in Canada for pertinent Census information. Therefore, viewed from the perspective of the *Statistics Act*, the enumeration of Canada's populace includes establishing counts for Registered Indians, irrespective of on- or off-reserve residency.

As reported in the Register and the Census, Table 1 presents the total population difference for Registered Indians for 1991 and 1986. In 1991, the Register and the Census produced separate counts of the total Registered Indian population, resulting in a discrepancy of 125,991 persons. Ninety one percent of this difference, representing 114,429 Registered Indians, derives from on-reserve counts.

In comparing the 1991 Register and Census, it has been determined that the following factors explain most of the variation in counts for the Registered Indian population:

- In 1991, the Register recorded the individual life events of Registered individuals attached to 603 bands across Canada. The 1991 Census enumerated 539 of these bands, missing a total of 64 bands occupying 78 reserves with an estimated population of 38,000 individuals[1].

- Differing definitions of Indian lands influences the determination of Registered Indian counts. The Census normally treats reserves as census subdivision equivalents, which are discrete areas. Many bands, however, have stewardship over several reserves. While not all reserves are regularly inhabited, Registered Indians may be dispersed across several reserves. Thus, the 1991 Census may not have enumerated all individual Registered Indians living on reserve.

- While the IRS annual close date is December 31 every year, administrative links between individual Registered Indians and the registry group with which they are affiliated are continuously updated.[2] The Census is a self-reporting survey that is conducted in a moveable month, usually once every five years.

- The Register operates on the basis of registry groups, which are generally equivalent to bands, not reserves. In general, this feature of the Register encourages the counting of individuals on both single and/or multiple land holdings. In 1991, of the 603 bands recorded in the Register, only two yield consistent counts between the Register and

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1 Statistics Canada, *User's Guide to 1991 Aboriginal Data*, Ottawa, 1991, p. 29.

2 Chapter I, section 5 (1) of the *Indian Act* requires that the name of every person entitled to be a Registered Indian be recorded and maintained by DIAND. Furthermore, Chapter I, section 6 identifies who is entitled to Registered Indian status.

the Census.[3]

- In 1991, the Census was carried out on June 4. Roll-ups for the IRS are completed as of December 31. Thus, an additional six months of population increase that occurred on reserve was captured by the Register and missed by the Census. In fact 2,140 Bill C-31 registrants[4] and 3,908 on-reserve births occurred after June 4, 1991.

- In 1991, due to the late reporting of births and deaths, the IRS was estimated to have undercounted the Registered Indian population by nearly 17,000 persons. In addition, the IRS does not adequately capture on- and off-reserve migration or movement to another reserve. This feature introduces an unknown degree of discrepancy to the official split of on- and off-reserve counts from the Register.

DIAND Customized Census Tabulations

The socio-demographic indicators presented in this report were derived from 1991 and 1986 Census tabulations prepared for DIAND by Statistics Canada. These data enabled DIAND to better identify the Registered Indian population as reported by the census through the redefinition of ethnicity and residency variables.

Ethnicity

In developing customized tabulations from the 1991 Census, DIAND used as a base those persons who reported Aboriginal ethnic origin in Question 15 on Form 2b. A series of adjustments were then applied by the Census to this base population using a separate census question on Aboriginal identity (Question 16) to determine which segment of the base population converged most closely with the *Indian Act* definition of a Registered Indian.

Statistics Canada's determination of the Aboriginal population is based principally on the ethnic origin question (question 15 on survey form 2B). This question identifies North American Indian as a group (option 20) without distinguishing the Registered Indian and non-Registered Indian population. It also provides counts for Inuit, Métis and populations of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry.

Unlike the 1991 Census, in 1986 respondents were unable to identify themselves as Registered Indians within the ethnicity question. However, question 7 did provide an opportunity for individuals to indicate Aboriginal identity. Options 35 and 36 of question 7 also permitted individuals to self-identify as Status or non-Status Indians. However, Statistics Canada has determined that significant data quality problems arose with question 7, and advises that all Aboriginal counts from the 1986 Census are based on the ethnicity question (17).

In fact, question 17 does not provide persons with Aboriginal ancestry with the opportunity to declare Indian status or non-status. Instead, question 17 (option 38) provides for the identification of North American Indian ancestry. While this option was meant to replace the status/non-status Indian option, it does not adequately capture counts for the Registered Indian population living on or off reserve.

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[3] Of the 603 bands recognized by DIAND in 1991, only two bands, Summer Beaver (Ontario, Band 241) and Peters (B.C., Band 586) produced consistent counts between the Register and the Census.

[4] With the passage of Bill C-31, several discriminatory clauses that extinguished Registered status for women who married non-Registered partners were repealed.

Geography

The geographic level "on-reserve" includes the population on reserve, individuals residing on Crown lands and settlements as of June 4, 1991 and selected communities such as specified *Enumeration Areas* (the smallest level of geographic analysis) and Census Subdivisions (which contain several Enumeration Areas). Notably, in 1991 more than 99 percent of all reserves were Census Subdivisions. DIAND maintains customized census tabulations that provide geographic coverage of Registered Indians and other Aboriginal groups (Aboriginal, Inuit and Métis) at various levels of Census geography. These include census subdivisions, census divisions, census metropolitan areas, provinces/territories and national aggregations. Specialized geographies maintained by DIAND include delineations by bands and tribal councils, which represent roll-ups of census subdivisions.

Census Data Comparability Through Time

The reader is cautioned that Aboriginal data from the 1991 and 1986 censuses are not perfectly comparable for the following reasons:

1. In 1991, 64 Indian bands (78 reserves) did not participate in the census. These communities represented an estimated 38,000 people. In 1986, 90 bands (136 reserves) were incompletely enumerated, representing approximately 45,000 people. In both census events, the non-participation of some First Nations resulted in significant under-representation of the on-reserve Registered Indian population.

2. In 1986, Census respondents were not given the opportunity to identify themselves as Registered Indians under the ethnicity question. Instead, respondents were able to indicate Registered Indian status as a sub-field within the question, but significant data quality problems were associated with data premised on this field. In the 1991 Census, respondents were given the opportunity to identify themselves as Registered Indian as part of question 16.

The reader is also cautioned that the Registered Indian population has changed substantially in both its size and composition since the middle 1980s. Most of these changes are linked to the reinstatement of individuals or new registrants as a result of Bill C-31, which introduced major amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1985. By 1990, the Bill C-31 process had increased the Registered Indian population by 73,983. This resulted in major changes to the count, geographic distribution and characteristics of the Registered Indian population. The demographic impact of Bill C-31 was just beginning to occur at the time of the 1986 Census. Thus, many of the 17,857 Bill C-31 registrants recorded by the Register on December 31, 1986 were missed by the 1986 Census, which produced a Registered Indian count more than six months earlier (June 4, 1986).

Definitions of Aboriginal Populations, DIAND and Statistics Canada's *Census of Population*

Conceptually, DIAND and Statistics Canada view the term *Aboriginal* from somewhat different perspectives. Whereas DIAND's concept of an Aboriginal person flows from a legal and cultural premise, Statistics Canada's count for Aboriginal peoples derives from the willingness of census respondents to identify themselves as having a specific Aboriginal origin.

DIAND

DIAND's legal obligations flow exclusively from the *Indian Act*, including any amendments that may be made to the *Act* from time to time. As such, the departments only existing legal obligations are to Registered Indians living on reserve, and to those Inuit in northern Quebec and Labrador who receive services from the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. While DIAND has no legal obligations whatsoever to any Aboriginal groups who are not specifically cited within the terms and conditions established by the *Indian Act* and its amendments, the department does maintain working definitions for various Aboriginal groups. These are as follows:[5]

Aboriginal: The descendants of the original inhabitants of Canada. *The Constitution Act 1982* specifies that Aboriginal persons include the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada. The Constitution contains no legal definition of Aboriginal peoples.

Indian: A Status Indian is a person registered or entitled to be registered as an Indian according to the *Indian Act*, (as amended by Bill C-31 in June 1985). Approximately 50 percent of the Status Indians in Canada are treaty Indians; that is, persons who are affiliated with an Indian body or band which was signatory to a treaty with the Crown. The department, by virtue of the *Indian Act*, is responsible for providing support and services to Status Indians only.

Non-status Indians include, but are not limited to, Indian people, or those descended from them, who have lost their right to be registered as Indians as defined by the *Indian Act*. Before June 1985, this group included Indian women who married non-Indian men. With the passage of Bill C-31, certain sections of the *Indian Act* were repealed and persons who had formerly lost their status through such provisions became entitled to reinstatement to Indian status and band membership. Others, as specified in Bill C-31 amendments, became newly entitled Status Indians.

Inuit: The Inuit are the Aboriginal inhabitants of Northern Canada, who reside north of the 60th parallel; and in northern Quebec and Labrador, somewhat south of the 60th parallel. The federal government's power to make laws with respect to Indians, and lands reserved for Indians, was interpreted to extend to the Inuit by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939. The Inuit, however, are not covered by the *Indian Act*, and only those Inuit in northern Quebec and Labrador receive services from the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

Innu: The Innu are a special group of Indians living in Quebec and Labrador (Naskapi and Montagnais only).

Métis/Metis: There are at least two different views about the meaning of the term "Métis". Some maintain that the term refers to those of Aboriginal ancestry who are descended from the historic Red River Métis community of Western Canada. Others say that "Métis" refers to persons of Aboriginal ancestry who identify themselves as Métis, as distinct from Indian or Inuit. The department has no legal responsibility toward Métis persons.

As the organization that represents Métis interests on a national scale, the ***Métis***

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5 Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1994. *1994-95 Estimates, Part III: Expenditure Plan*. Minister of Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa.

National Council[6] uses very specific wording in defining what constitutes both a Métis person and the extant Métis community:

Métis person

a) "Métis" means an Aboriginal person who self-identifies as Métis, who is distinct from Indian and Inuit and is a descendant of those Metis who received or were entitled to receive land grants and/or scrip under the provisions of the *Manitoba Act, 1870* or the *Dominion Lands Acts*, as enacted from time to time.

Métis community

b) "Métis Nation" means the community of Métis persons in subsection a) and persons of Aboriginal descent who are accepted by that community

(The definitions presented here are provided courtesy of the ***Métis National Council*** and were used for the purposes of developing the *Métis Nation Accord* which was negotiated as part of the *Charlottetown Accord* process, which ultimately failed. For a more detailed discussion of the historical origins and geographical extent of the Métis people, the reader is referred to page 15).

Statistics Canada

In 1991, the *Census of Population* relied upon two survey forms to establish the various social, economic and demographic characteristics of the Canadian populace. One form, generally referred to as the 2A questionnaire, consisted of 7 basic questions and was used in 80 percent of all off-reserve Canadian households. For the remaining 20 percent of off-reserve households, the 2B form of the questionnaire, comprised of 53 questions, was utilized. Thus, in reporting detailed statistics for the Canadian population as a whole, Statistics Canada made use of the characteristics of respondents who completed the 2B (long-form) questionnaire to develop a statistically valid portrait of the nation. In 1986, a similar process was used to produce detailed national statistics flowing from the Census.

In 1991, Statistics Canada's *Census of Population* produced a derived count for the Aboriginal population based upon respondents answers to questions 15 and 16. Specifically, Statistics Canada states that the Aboriginal population "[r]efers to those persons who reported at least one [A]boriginal ethnic origin, i.e. North American Indian, Métis or Inuit and/or reported being registered under the *Indian Act* of Canada."[7]

Compared to the non-Aboriginal population, some specific differences underlie the method by which Aboriginal population counts were developed from the 1991 Census. Among Aboriginal persons living on reserves which participated in the Census, a variant of the long-form of the census (the so-called 2D questionnaire) was utilized in 100 percent of enumerated cases. Conversely, for Aboriginal persons living off reserve, the likelihood of receiving the long-form questionnaire was 1 in 5.

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6 Rochon, Lorraine. Personal interview. October 20, 1995.

7 Statistics Canada. *1991 Census Dictionary*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1992. 1991 Census of Canada. Catalogue number 92-310E.

- ***Question 15*** was specifically directed towards identifying an individual's ethnicity by ancestry, with 15 ethnic groups reproduced as possible respondent answers. Among the printed choices that a respondent could choose from were the Aboriginal ethnicities North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit/Eskimo. Two additional spaces were provided for write-in responses not covered by the prepared list. Respondents were permitted to indicate as many ethnicities as were applicable.

- ***Question 16*** sought to establish the number of people who were legally defined as Registered Indians, as described within the terms and conditions of the *Indian Act*. Thus, a small proportion of respondents were able to indicate Registered Indian status who were not Aboriginal by origin.

Ultimately, the derived Aboriginal population reported by the 1991 Census was an aggregate number that could be disaggregated into the following four mutually exclusive categories:

Category I - SINGLE ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

North American Indian origin only

Métis origin only

Inuit origin only

Category II - SINGLE ABORIGINAL ORIGIN PLUS NON-ABORIGINAL ORIGIN(S)

North American Indian and non-Aboriginal origin(s)

Métis and non-Aboriginal origin(s)

Inuit and non-Aboriginal only

Category III - MULTIPLE ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

Those Individuals who indicated 2 or more Aboriginal origins. Respondents could also indicate non-Aboriginal origin(s).

Category IV - REGISTERED INDIAN WITHOUT ABORIGINAL ORIGINS

Persons registered under the Indian Act but not claiming Aboriginal origins.

Therefore, in 1991 the summation of these four categories produced the Census-derived Aboriginal population. With some minor variations, the same methodology characterized the production of Aboriginal counts for the 1986 Census.

Concept of the Aboriginal Population and of Aboriginal Sub-Groups

Throughout this study, the collective term 'Aboriginal Population' refers to the following groups:

- Registered Indians On and Off Reserve
- Inuit (single response only)
- Métis (1991 only, single response only)
- Non-Status Indian / Other Aboriginal Origins

Therefore, the Aboriginal population is the summation of all of these groups, which totalled ***1,016,335 persons*** in the 1991 Census. Within this study, the reader should be aware of one distinct difference between rates reported for the Aboriginal population as a whole and the specific groupings ***Registered***

Indian (on *and* off reserve), ***Inuit*** and ***Métis***. Where a measure of success is reported for the Aboriginal population as a whole, a higher or lower success rate can be reported than occurs for any one of the Aboriginal sub-groups. The following table illustrates this point:

Example: Income Composition, 1991

Ethnicity	Employment Income	Government Income	Other Income	Without Income
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	65.1	15.5	10.7	8.7
All Aboriginal Canadians	**59.0**	**24.3**	**5.1**	**11.7**
Registered Indians Off Reserve	50.7	30.1	4.0	15.2
Registered Indians On Reserve	38.7	40.1	10.9	10.2
Inuit	57.3	24.9	1.4	16.5
Métis	52.9	29.2	3.0	14.9

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

In this example, the bold line 'All Aboriginal Canadians' allocates proportions of income by major source, i.e. employment, government transfers, other income and no income. This same process is extended to all of the Aboriginal subgroups examined in this study (Registered Indians on *and* off reserve, Inuit and Métis).

It is readily observed that figures reported under the 'All Aboriginal Canadians' heading are not simple aggregates of the the various Aboriginal subgroups. This seeming inconsistency is not an error; rather, its is due to the absence of a specific line devoted to those Aboriginal Canadians who the Census categorized as non-Status Indians or some other combination of Aboriginal origins (single or multiple). Thus, the *influence* of Aboriginal persons falling into categories not examined in this study is apparent at the aggregate level 'All Aboriginal Canadians'. Additionally, all rates cited in this study for the Aboriginal groups Registered Indian, Inuit and Métis are based on the responses of persons indicating a single Aboriginal origin. For the overall Aboriginal population, reported rates reflect the responses of all Aboriginal individuals (i.e., single and multiple origins).

Throughout this study, the order of data and text presentation for various Aboriginal populations is simply a function of software used for data retrieval and manipulation, and does not imply or confer any departmental preference for any one Aboriginal group. However, the reader is reminded that, with the exception of post-secondary funding, DIAND's legal mandate is strictly limited to the provision of services for the Registered Indian population living on reserve as defined within the *Indian Act*.

Symbols

The following symbols are used to indicate specific events:

.. data unavailable for this particular group, this census year.

XXX data suppressed for confidentiality reasons by Statistics Canada.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

General Demographic Characteristics Registered Indians On Reserve and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-1 and 1-2)

This study highlights key differences between the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal population by comparing ***age cohorts*** and ***migration patterns***. By presenting visual and tabular views that directly compare and contrast these features, it is possible to surmise patterns underlying group-based discrepancies in social and economic attainment measures.

Examining a population's cohort structure can offer basic insight into the economic and social circumstances of particular groups. More specifically, comparing age cohorts across groups can serve to illuminate labour force dynamics (population aged 15 or more), establish a population's relative youthfulness (proportion aged 0-24 years), or isolate geriatric trends within the population (proportion aged 65 years or more). Frequently, particular achievement measures are emphasized for standard age cohorts; i.e. primary and secondary educational attainment is linked to the cohort aged 4-18 years. Similarly, post-secondary experience is closely identified with the cohort aged 17-34 years.

With the exception of the Inuit, ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** represented the most youthful population of any group examined in this study. In both 1991 and 1986, nearly 40 percent of on-reserve Indians were aged 15 years or less. Over the study period, the proportion of Indians on reserve who were under the age of 15 declined by just 0.5 percent.

In marked contrast to patterns typifying the non-Aboriginal population, in 1991 Registered Indians on reserve aged 65+ represented a smaller segment of the population than was the case in 1986. In that year, the cohort aged 65+ accounted for 4.8 percent of Indians living on reserve. By 1991, this proportion had fallen to 3.9 percent. By contrast, the non-Aboriginal pattern was characterized by a 65+ cohort that expanded from 10.2 percent of the population to 11.8 percent between 1986 and 1991. Only one other Aboriginal group, the Inuit, exhibited a similar trend. However, the decline that occurred in the Inuit cohort aged 65+ was negligible, falling from 2.6 percent in 1986 to 2.5 percent in 1991.

Between the two census years, the proportion of Registered Indians on reserve who were of working-age (population aged 15-64) remained nearly constant: 56.8 percent in 1991 versus 57 percent in 1986. Still, the rapid absolute expansion of the working-age population on reserve creates considerable pressure within the local economy to produce stable employment.

Based on census counts of Indians on reserve, the number of individuals aged 15-64 grew by 15.4 percent between 1986 and 1991. In general, growth in the Indian working-age cohort on reserve occurred at a time when the Canadian economy was entering a prolonged recessionary period. Typically, young people are more susceptible to labour force displacements associated with a contracting economy.

In 1991, nearly 6 out of every 10 Registered Indians on reserve were under the age of 25. This pattern also typified two other groups examined in this study; the Métis and the Inuit. By comparison, less than 4 out of every 10 non-Aboriginal Canadians were aged less than 25 years. Given the preponderance of youth on-reserve, it is likely that many social and economic problems tied to the economic cycle were felt more acutely on reserve than in non-Aboriginal Canada.

Projections developed for the *Interdepartmental Working Group on Employment Equity* suggest that the Registered Indian population growth rate will decelerate over the next thirty years, falling from 17.3

percent growth between 1991 and 1996, to 8.7 percent growth between 2006 and 2011.[8] Despite this trend, policy makers and community planners must remain cognizant of one demographic reality. As the cohort aged 25 or less begins the process of family formation, a large echo - the children of today's on-reserve Indian youth - will occur in the early stages of the next century.

The implications of current population dynamics on reserve are clear and direct. In the near and medium term, the basic forces that will shape the direction and delivery of services on reserve will be closely tied to the changing social and economic needs of a burgeoning Indian workforce. While most of Canada will be preoccupied with the provision of services for the elderly, the on-reserve community will be faced with the challenge of providing educational opportunities and finding permanent employment for a relatively young population.

In general, the various trends that describe the Registered Indian off reserve population have applicability to other Aboriginal groups. Collectively, these observations form recurrent themes for each of the Aboriginal groups examined in this study. While many subtle differences do underlie the unfolding demography of each Aboriginal population, some broad comparisons to other population groups are inevitable.

Compellingly, the basic structure of the population pyramids for each of the Aboriginal groups examined in this report are similar. Typically, they are characterised by a broad base that steps upwards towards a narrow apex. The pattern stands in sharp contrast to the non-Aboriginal one, which is characterized by a population bulge around the 20-44 year cohort, and a prominent 65+ cohort that has no equivalent group in the Aboriginal population. While the latter pattern is common to most industrialized nations, the former occurs in many of the world's developing nations.

While direct comparisons between the Aboriginal populace and the developing world are tempting, they are fraught with difficulties. Beyond demographic comparisons, enormous social and economic differences separate the Aboriginal populace of Canada from much of the developing world. Still, prior to European contact, the Aboriginal population of Canada was estimated at having been between 200,000 and two million persons.[9] Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that Aboriginal populations in Canada may only now be approaching their pre-contact numbers. According to Commoner, a complex network of interactions shape the demographic structure of any contemporary population.[10] When examining the dynamics of the relatively youthful Aboriginal population, the following observation is instructive:

> ...population growth is not the consequence of a simple arithmetic relationship between birthrate and death rate. Instead, there are circular relationships in which, as in an ecological cycle, every step is connected to several others (Commoner, 1982, page 187).

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8 Nault, F. and Jenkins, E., 1993, *Projections of Canada's Population with Aboriginal Ancestry, 1991-2016*, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

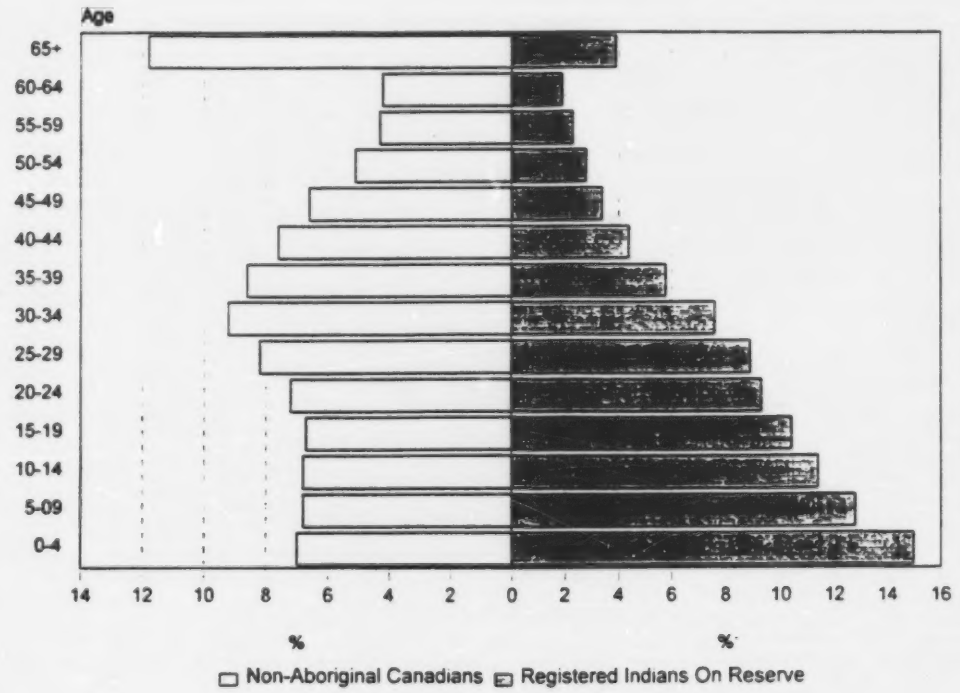
9 McGhee, R., 1991, *Canada Rediscovered*, Hull, PQ, Canadian Museum of Civilization.

10 Commoner, B., 1975, "How Poverty Breeds Overpopulation (and not the other way around)," *Ramparts* (August/September 1975): 21-25, 58-59. Reprinted in Vogeler, I. and A. DeSouza, *Dialectics of Third World Development*, Totowa, NJ, Annanheld Osmun, 1982.

Box 1-1. Registered Indians On Reserve and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Registered Indians On Reserve
	(percent)	
65+	11.8	3.9
60-64	4.2	1.9
55-59	4.3	2.3
50-54	5.1	2.8
45-49	6.6	3.4
40-44	7.6	4.4
35-39	8.6	5.8
30-34	9.2	7.6
25-29	8.2	8.9
20-24	7.2	9.3
15-19	6.7	10.4
10-14	6.8	11.4
5-9	6.8	12.8
0-4	7.0	15.0

– – – – – Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.

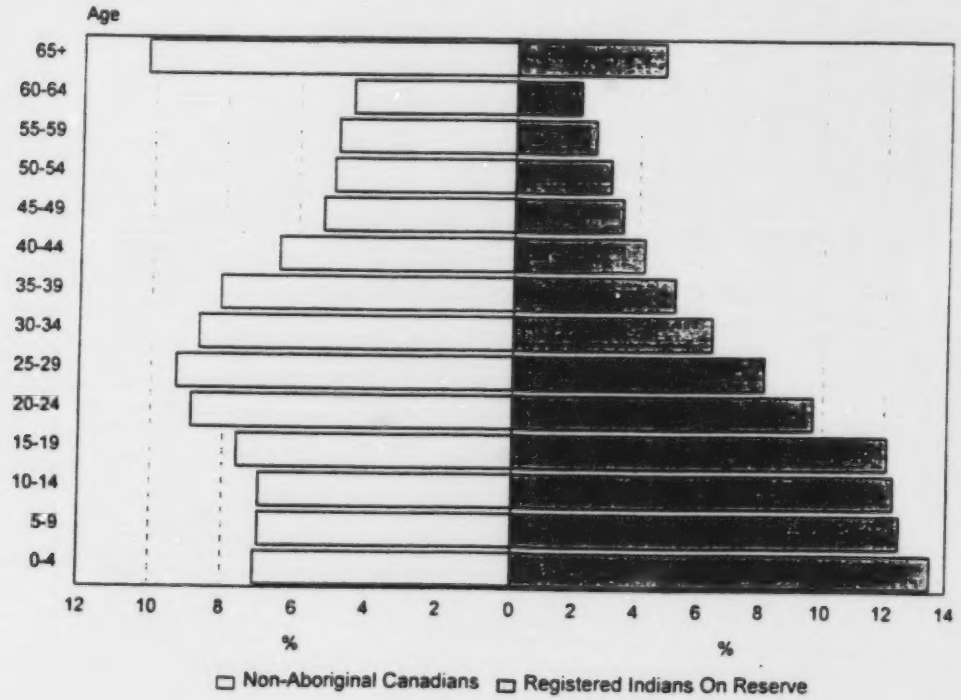


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-2. Registered Indians On Reserve and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1986

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Registered Indians On Reserve
	(percent)	
65+	10.2	4.8
60-64	4.5	2.1
55-59	4.9	2.6
50-54	5.0	3.1
45-49	5.3	3.5
40-44	6.5	4.2
35-39	8.1	5.2
30-34	8.7	6.4
25-29	9.3	8.1
20-24	8.9	9.7
15-19	7.6	12.1
10-14	7.0	12.3
5-9	7.0	12.5
0-4	7.1	13.5

— — — — — Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Register, Customized Census Tabulations

General Demographic Characteristics Registered Indians Off Reserve and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-3 and 1-4)

Box 1-3 reveals that in 1991, the age distribution of ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** was markedly different from that of the non-Aboriginal Canadian population. The greatest variation occurred in the cohort aged 65 or more, which accounted for only 3.3 percent of Registered Indians living off reserve, but fully 11.8 percent of the non-Aboriginal Canadian population. Compared to 1986 (Box 1-4), the separation between the same age groups had increased to 8.5 percent from 8 percent by 1991. This reflects the rapid expansion of the elderly population among non-Aboriginal Canadians, and the effect of the 'under thirty' bulge (the cohort aged 0-29 years) that characterises the off-reserve Registered Indian population.

Overall, the non-Aboriginal Canadian population is considerably older than the Registered Indian off reserve population. While 48 percent of the non-Aboriginal population is over 35 years of age, only 29.4 percent of the Registered Indian population living off reserve falls in the same cohort. In 1991, the only cohort for which the two groups experienced a comparable distribution was the age group 30-34 (9.2 percent in each case).

Assuming a working-age population confined to the 15-64 age cohort, labour force potential[11] as a fraction of the non-Aboriginal population was 67.7 percent in 1991. By contrast, the Registered Indian off reserve level stood at 65.8 percent. In 1986, the same measure revealed a potential non-Aboriginal labour force of 68.8 percent, while the off-reserve Registered Indian level was 58.5 percent. Between census events, the decelerating growth rate experienced by the non-Aboriginal population stands in mark contrast to the Registered Indian off reserve experience.

Qualitative differences between the working-age groups of each population are important; in times of economic downturn, populations whose working-age cohort is still expanding will tend to experience more profound social and economic displacements including higher levels of unemployment. Viewed in the context of other qualitative factors, including level of schooling and distance from major urban centres, the underlying dynamics of workforce behaviour become more apparent.

The proportion of the population deemed youthful (aged 0-19 years) was also noticeably different between these two groups. In 1991, exactly 41 percent of the Registered Indian population living off reserve was 0-19 years old while 27.3 percent of the non-Aboriginal population was part of this age cohort, supporting characterizations of Registered Indian population living off reserve as relatively young. The aging population of Non-Aboriginal Canadians was apparent even in 1986, with 10.2 percent falling into the 65 years or more category, compared to just 2.2 percent of Registered Indians off reserve. At the base of the population pyramid, the proportion of Registered Indians living off reserve aged 0-4 years was twice the level reported by non-Aboriginal persons.

The Registered Indian off reserve population has aged slightly since 1986. In 1986, 20.7 percent of Registered Indians living off reserve were aged 35 years or more. By 1991, this same age group accounted for 29.4 percent of the population.

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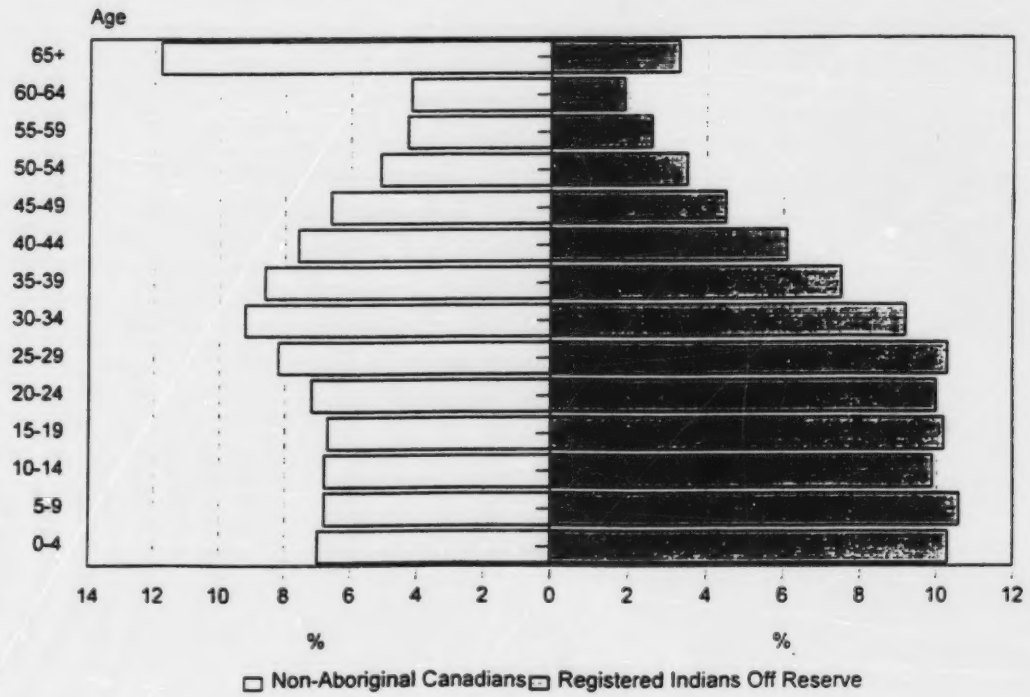
11 In theory, the maximum proportion of a given population that could participate in the wage economy. Defined, this could include all individuals aged 15 or more (total 15+ divided by total population). Realistically, the measure usually assumes a workforce based on the age group 15-64. Thus, for any population, the measure 'potential labour force' would be expressed as the age group 15-64 divided by the total population.

Box 1-3. Registered Indians Off Reserve and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Registered Indians Off Reserve
	(percent)	
65+	11.8	3.3
60-64	4.2	1.9
55-59	4.3	2.6
50-54	5.1	3.5
45-49	6.6	4.5
40-44	7.6	6.1
35-39	8.6	7.5
30-34	9.2	9.2
25-29	8.2	10.3
20-24	7.2	10.0
15-19	6.7	10.2
10-14	6.8	9.9
5-9	6.8	10.6
0-4	7.0	10.3

– – – – – Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.

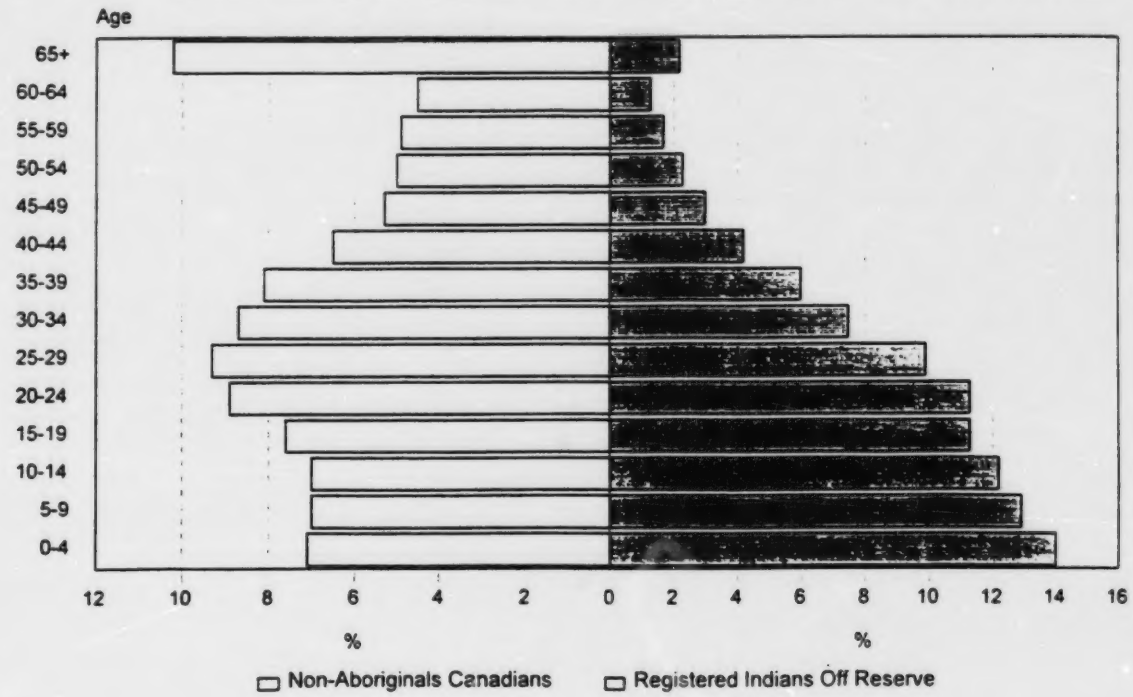


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-4. Registered Indians Off Reserve and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1986

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Registered Indians Off Reserve
	(percent)	
65+	10.2	2.2
60-64	4.5	1.3
55-59	4.9	1.7
50-54	5.0	2.3
45-49	5.3	3.0
40-44	6.5	4.2
35-39	8.1	6.0
30-34	8.7	7.5
25-29	9.3	9.9
20-24	8.9	11.3
15-19	7.6	11.3
10-14	7.0	12.2
5-9	7.0	12.9
0-4	7.1	14.0

Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

General Demographic Characteristics
Inuit and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-5 and 1-6)

In most respects, the ***Inuit population*** shares a growth dynamic akin to the on-reserve Registered Indian population. Like Indians on reserve, the Inuit are characterized by a population with a large youthful component. In both 1991 and 1986, the cohort under the age of 25 represented around six-tenths of the entire Inuit population. Moreover, as a proportion of the entire Inuit population, the share maintained by the youth cohort remained very high in both 1991 (58.7 percent) and 1986 (63.4 percent).

While this trend is similar to the one reported for Indians living on reserve, a basic point of departure between the two groups is evident. Between 1986 and 1991, Inuit youth cohort's population share fell by 4.7 percent, a relatively steep decline. Among Indians on reserve, the same measure indicates a decline in the size of the youth cohort of just 1.2 percent.

In 1991, Inuit persons aged 65 or more accounted for only 2.5 percent of the population, virtually unchanged from a 2.6 percent share in 1986. In fact, of all of the Aboriginal groups examined here, the Inuit recorded the lowest proportion of persons aged 65 or more in both 1991 and 1986. In relative terms, between 1986 and 1991, the Inuit cohort aged 65+ fell from barely one-quarter, to less than one-fifth, the size of the 65+ non-Aboriginal cohort. While census under coverage may have an impact on the accuracy of Inuit population dynamics, the continuing decline of population share accorded to Inuit aged 65 or more is indicative of the impact of youth on the overall Inuit population pyramid.

Another strong indication of rapid growth within the Inuit youth cohort is the comparatively small increase in the proportion of the working-age population. In fact, the greatest contribution to overall change in the age structure of the Inuit population occurred in the cohort aged 25-44, which expanded by 4.8 percent between 1986 and 1991. Outside of this component of the working-age population, most cohorts experienced less volatile change. Thus, the 1991 census reveals that overall, the proportionate share of Inuit persons aged 15-64 increased by less than 2 percent from 1986.

Overall growth in the Inuit labour force occurred during a period characterized by slack demand for most of the goods associated with the North's resource-based economy. Yet, the 23.8 percent unemployment rate established for the Inuit in 1991 represents a marked improvement over the 26.4 percent rate reported in 1986. In part, this seeming incongruity may be explained by continued employment growth within the public sector of the N.W.T. over the study period.

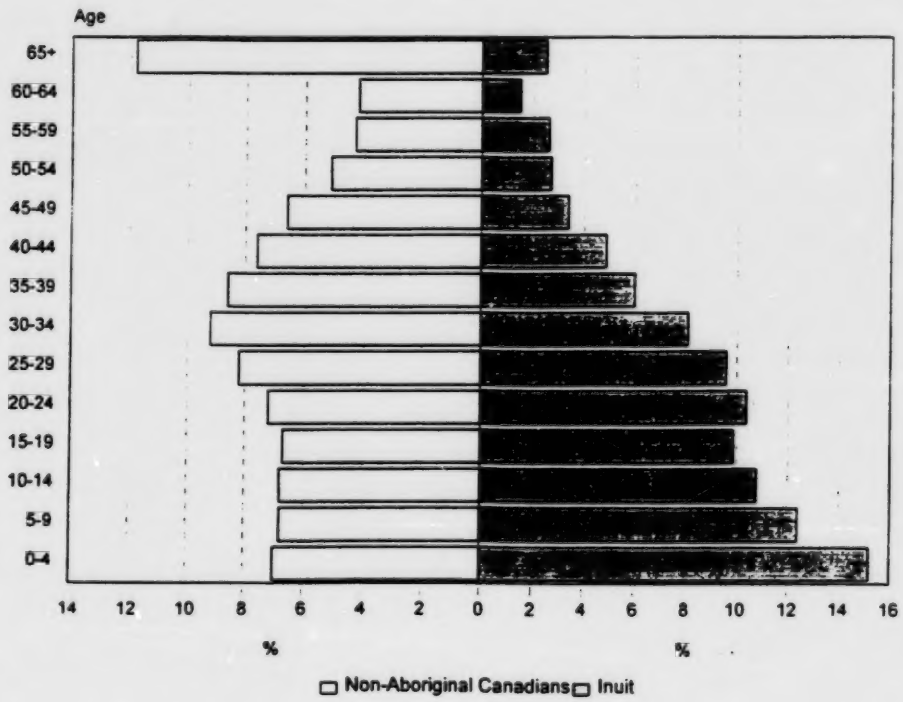
For policy makers, the challenge attached to interpreting Inuit population dynamics based upon the census is twofold. First, the 1991 Census reveals that programs and policies must be tailored to meet the demands of a relatively youthful population. Second, census-based counts of the Inuit population are problematic.

On a straight count basis, between 1986 and 1991, the census reported a decline in the Inuit population of about 4,000 persons. Thus, while an expansion of 2 percent for the working-age population may be apparent on the basis of direct cohort comparisons between census years, it masks a reported decline in the size of the Inuit working-age population of 2,150 persons.

Box 1-5. Inuit and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Inuit
	(percent)	
65+	11.8	2.5
60-64	4.2	1.5
55-59	4.3	2.6
50-54	5.1	2.7
45-49	6.6	3.4
40-44	7.6	4.9
35-39	8.6	6.0
30-34	9.2	8.1
25-29	8.2	9.6
20-24	7.2	10.4
15-19	6.7	9.9
10-14	6.8	10.8
5-9	6.8	12.4
0-4	7.0	15.2

– – – – – Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.

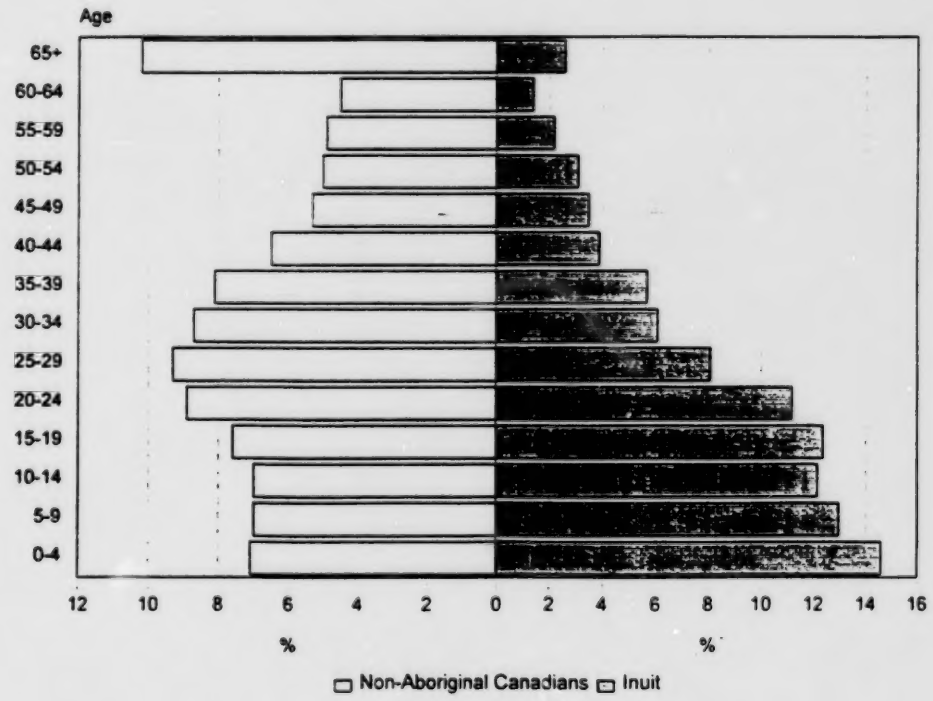


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-6. Inuit and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1986

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Inuit
	(percent)	
65+	10.2	2.6
60-64	4.5	1.4
55-59	4.9	2.2
50-54	5.0	3.1
45-49	5.3	3.5
40-44	6.5	3.9
35-39	8.1	5.7
30-34	8.7	6.1
25-29	9.3	8.1
20-24	8.9	11.2
15-19	7.6	12.4
10-14	7.0	12.2
5-9	7.0	13.0
0-4	7.1	14.6

– – – – – Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

General Demographic Characteristics
Métis and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-7 and 1-8)

Historical Note

In the 1991 Census, the inclusion of the category ***Métis*** as part of the ancestry question allowed for the direct examination of the social and economic circumstances of a unique cultural group in the history of Canada.

The very name Métis is intimately linked to the evolution of the Canadian west prior to Confederation. However, the historic origins of the Métis people substantially predates the emergence of Canada, with specific references made to the Métis in the early part of the nineteenth century. In contemporary times, the prevailing view of the Métis people as the descendants of North American Indians and French Canadian voyageurs or Scottish fur traders is somewhat narrow.

Historically, the greatest concentration of identifiably "Métis" people did occur near the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers during the 1820s. The pejoratively described "mixed-bloods" populated specific sections of the Red River settlement. They derived from Indian and European interaction that accompanied the penetration of the Canadian west by Montreal-based fur traders. In fact, throughout the Red River settlement and other parts of Rupert's land, cultural mixing occurred between many distinct groups, including the Cree and Salteaux, Orkney-born British settlers, French-Canadian voyageurs and Highland Scots of middle class origins.[12]

While all of these people were connected in varying degree to the Rupert's Land fur trade, their local traditions exhibited great variation. Some of the Red River colonists came to describe themselves as Métis, a community comprised of people with French-Canadian, Scottish, and Salteaux and Cree origins who were closely tied to the seasonal migration of the buffalo. However, a second stream of settlers, pejoratively described as country-born "half-breeds", were characterized by Cree and English origins.[13] Typically, the country-born were more inclined to pursue a pastoral lifestyle than the original Métis people.

Despite these historic distinctions, in the 175 years since the appearance of the Red River settlement, the concept of the Métis people has blurred the earlier distinctions made between peoples of Indian and European ancestry. In contemporary description, the term Métis has tended to include all people of Indian and European heritage. As such, the lack of a specific question concerning Métis origins in the 1986 Census does not make the comparison of Métis conditions impossible through time.

Therefore, in attempting to establish a starting point, this study uses responses of persons claiming Aboriginal and one other European ancestry as a proxy for the "Métis" population in 1986. Caution should still be used in interpreting statistics that directly compare the Métis count produced in the 1991 Census and any derived Métis population from the 1986 Census.

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12 Foster, John E., "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-70", in *The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Sourcebook* (L.G Thomas, ed.), Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp 18-72.

13 Ibid.

Statistical Background

As revealed by the 1991 Census, the ***Métis*** population accounted for about 15.9 percent of the entire Aboriginal population of Canada, about one-third the size of DIAND's Registered Indian population count for the same year. While most of the contemporary Métis people reside in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, they are represented in almost every province in Canada.

Between 1986 and 1991, Métis population dynamics were characterized by nearly unchanged shares for each of the five year age cohorts detailed in Boxes 1-7 and 1-8. In specific terms, Métis people aged 65+ represented a small fraction of the overall population in both 1991 (2.9 percent) and 1986 (1.8 percent).

While this feature is remarkable when compared to the large share of the 65+ cohort among non-Aboriginal Canadians, the more compelling feature of the Métis population is its relative youthfulness. Thus, in 1991 nearly 56 Métis persons out of every 100 were under the age of 25. Among other Aboriginal groups examined here, only the Inuit experienced a smaller number of persons deemed elderly in 1991. In 1986, nearly 59 Métis persons out of every 100 enumerated reported being less than 25 years of age. At that time, no other group reported a smaller population component over age 65.

Between the two census events, the Métis working-age cohort declined as a proportion of the overall population, falling to 60.2 percent in 1991 from 61.2 percent in 1986. This parallels behaviour in the non-Aboriginal population where the working-age cohort experienced a decline of 1.1 percent between 1986 and 1991. However, the proportion of the population of working-age was much higher among non-Aboriginals than the Métis, ranging from 67.7 percent in 1991 to 68.8 percent in 1986.

In 1991, 36.8 percent of the Métis population was under the age of 15, down slightly from the 37.1 percent level reported in 1986. This compares closely to the dynamics evident in most of the other Aboriginal groups, lying somewhere between the characteristics of Registered Indians living off reserve and Registered Indians living on reserve.

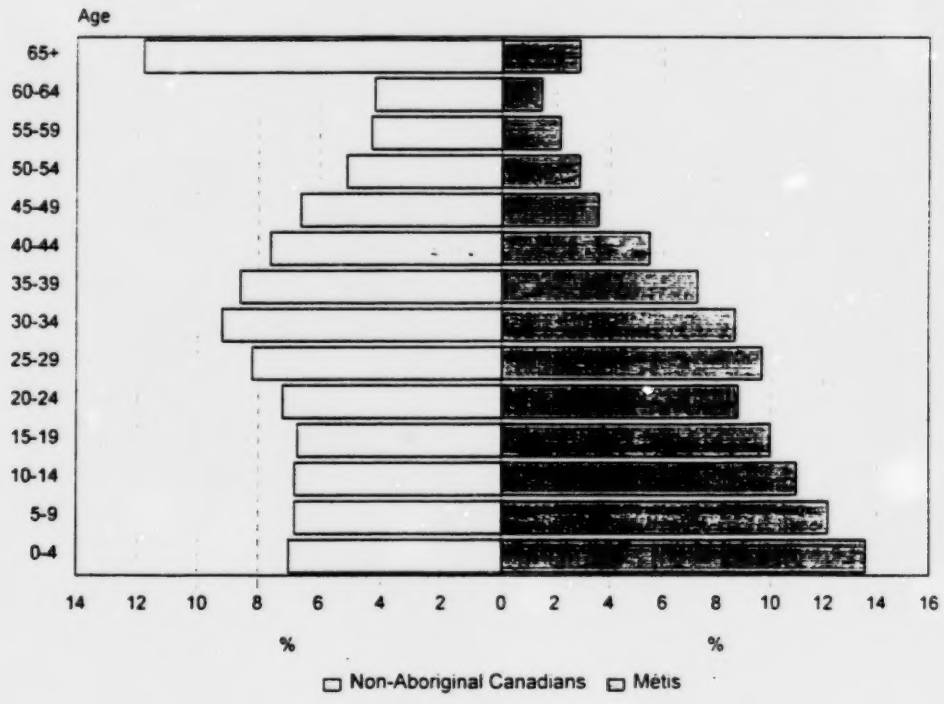
While the Métis and non-Aboriginal populations both experienced small declines in the share of their respective populations working-age cohort, the mechanism leading to this decline is very different. Among the Métis, fairly small declines in the population share attributed to the working-age cohort are due primarily to lower entrance rates of new potential workers from the cohort under age 15.

Among the non-Aboriginal population, the slower rate of replacement for the working-age population by new entrants from the under 15 cohort plays a small part in the dynamics of the 15-64 cohort. Instead, most of the decline observed for the non-Aboriginal working-age cohort can be attributed to a rapidly aging population. Thus, between 1986 and 1991, the non-Aboriginal cohort aged 65+ expanded from 10.2 percent of the population to 11.8 percent. In both years, this rate was about five times larger than the equivalent measure for the Métis population.

Box 1-7. Métis and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1991

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Métis
	(percent)	
65+	11.8	2.9
60-64	4.2	1.5
55-59	4.3	2.2
50-54	5.1	2.9
45-49	6.6	3.6
40-44	7.6	5.5
35-39	8.6	7.3
30-34	9.2	8.7
25-29	8.2	9.7
20-24	7.2	8.8
15-19	6.7	10.0
10-14	6.8	11.0
5-9	6.8	12.2

– – – – – Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.

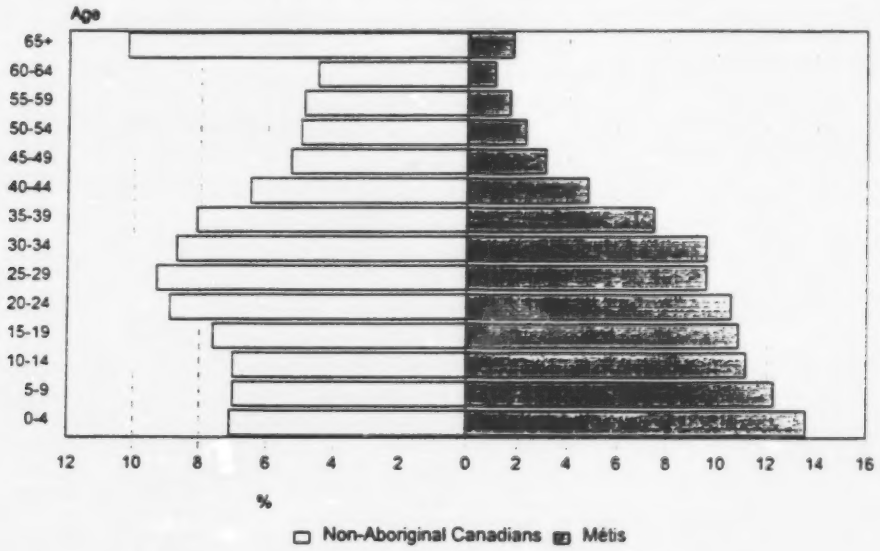


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-8. Métis and Non-Aboriginal Canadians, 1986[14]

Age Cohort	Non-Aboriginal Canadians	Métis
	(percent)	
65+	10.2	1.8
60-64	4.5	1.1
55-59	4.9	1.7
50-54	5.0	2.3
45-49	5.3	3.1
40-44	6.5	4.8
35-39	8.1	7.5
30-34	8.7	9.6
25-29	9.3	9.6
20-24	8.9	10.6
15-19	7.6	10.9
10-14	7.0	11.2

– – – – – Cumulative totals for the population occurring below the long dashed line are fifty percent or more of the population. Lower lines indicate more youthful populations; higher lines indicate more aged groups.



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[14] 1991 and 1986 figures for the Métis population are not easily compared as the 1986 Census did not offer Métis ancestry as an ethnicity option. DIAND maintains a custom tabulation from the 1986 Census that produces counts for people with Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal origins. As such, they are reproduced here as a reasonable approximation for the demographic characteristics of the Métis population.

Mobility Behaviour
All Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Canadians
1991 and 1986 (Box 1-9a,b through 1-12a,b)

Over the past two decades, social scientists have demonstrated heightened interest in the ***measurement and analysis of human migration***. Within several disciplines, unique paradigms have emerged which focus on the spatial organization of specific populations through time, whether defined by age, class, or some other organizing variable.

For each of the 1991 and 1986 censuses, the questionnaire devoted a specific section to the collection of mobility information. Data from this part of the Census establishes migration patterns for all Canadians over a five year period at a range of geographic scales. These include moves that occur within the same census subdivision (CSD), the same province (this includes all movements within the same province but excludes those that occur within the same CSD), other provinces (inter-provincial movements) and other countries. Within post-industrial societies like Canada, mobility information is helpful in establishing transfer payments for programs that are funded by higher levels of government, but delivered locally. Mobility data also represents the principal means by which population change can be measured at the provincial or sub-provincial level, with an attendant range of implications for infrastructure planning and development.

In situations where funding for local services is tied to current population levels, jurisdictions require data that reflects the impact of migration upon the provision of local services. Given the 5 or 10 year interval between each census event, local governments must rely upon intercensal population projections to monitor population change. Usually, these projections are premised upon small scale geographic building blocks, which can be easily 'rolled-up' to larger geographic units.

DIAND maintains a series of census-derived mobility tabulations that establish migration patterns for various Aboriginal groups and the non-Aboriginal population for the preceding five year period. Effectively, mobility behaviour based on the 1991 and 1986 Censuses provides a time period of 10 years (i.e. each census event covers the years in between the last census year and the present one). For both the 1991 and 1986 censuses, geographic coverage is available for movement within the same census subdivision, and for intra/inter provincial or out of country migration. This study reproduces five year mobility patterns for the Aboriginal population at all of these geographic scales. To provide context, all findings for the Aboriginal population are compared with non-Aboriginal mobility patterns in both census years. Owing to the Aboriginal focus of this study, no specific section of text is devoted to the non-Aboriginal population.

Notably, the mobility measures 'other province' and 'other country' are presented under one heading, 'other province/country'. For all of the groups presented here, the proportion of the category 'movers' that is attributed to in-migration from other countries amounts to around one percent or less in both 1991 and 1986. In addition to presenting general mobility data for the population aged 5 years or more, detailed examinations are included for the cohorts aged 15 to 24 and 25-44 years. Both of these age groups are closely associated with high mobility rates.

In 1991, ***Aboriginal Canadians*** aged 5 years or more reported a higher degree of mobility than their non-Aboriginal counterparts, with 58.5 percent indicating a change in physical location from the preceding five year period (Boxes 1-9a and 1-11a). By contrast, 46.2 percent of the non-Aboriginal population reported a change in location between 1986 and 1991.

Comparing census results for 1991 and 1986, a fundamental change in the geographic scale of movement is evident for Aboriginal Canadians (Boxes 1-9a and 1-10a). Thus, within the Aboriginal population, the sheer number of movers did not change much between the two census years (58.5 percent in 1991 versus 55.9 percent in 1986). However, the components of 'movement' reveal substantial changes for Aboriginal persons, with the principal type of movement shifting away from the census subdivision (CSD) in 1986 (58.8 percent of all moves) towards intra-provincial migration in 1991 (49.6 percent of all moves). Similarly, interprovincial migration among Aboriginal people grew from just 10.6 percent to 24.7 percent of all moves between 1986 and 1991.

Sharing a trend observed for the Aboriginal population, the proportion of non-Aboriginal Canadians designated as 'movers' increased to 46.2 percent of the population in 1991 from 43.4 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-11a and 1-12a). Like the Aboriginal population, non-Aboriginal persons reported a basic shift in the components of migration during the study period.

In 1991, 43.9 percent of movers relocated within the same province, up from just 30.8 percent in 1986. More dramatic, however, was the decline in the number of moves occurring within the same CSD. By 1991, fewer than one-quarter of all moves by non-Aboriginal persons were within the same CSD, down from 55.4 percent in 1986.

Typically, persons most directly associated with the high levels of mobility are aged between 15-44 years (refer to Boxes 1-9b and 1-10b for Aboriginal persons, 1-11b and 1-12b for non-Aboriginal persons). For this group, the combined pressures of initiating a career, starting a family, and pursuing economic opportunity are all borne out by census mobility data.

In 1991, Aboriginal persons aged 15-24 years reported a change of location during the previous five year period in 60.7 percent of all cases (59.3 percent in 1986). This mobility rate substantially exceeds the non-Aboriginal one, which stood at 49.7 percent in the same year (48 percent in 1986). Within the 15-24 cohort, most moves occurred within the same CSD among both Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Canadians (more than fifty percent in both cases).

Aboriginal persons aged 25-44 were extremely mobile in both 1991 and 1986. In the more recent census, 65.2 percent of respondents were classified as movers (Box 1-9b). This compares with non-Aboriginal levels of 60.5 percent for the same age group (Box 1-11b). In 1986, movers represented 63.4 percent of the Aboriginal population and 57.5 percent of the non-Aboriginal population aged 25-44 (Boxes 1-10b and 1-12b).

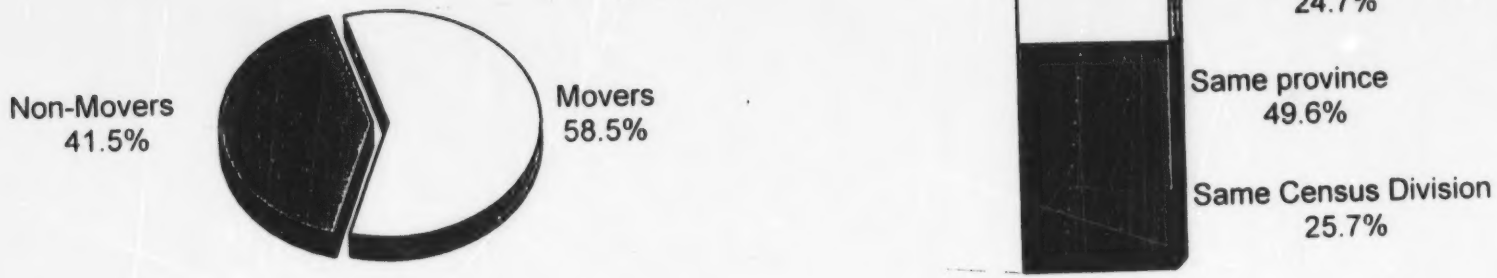
Among movers, by 1991 almost half of Aboriginal respondents aged 25-44 reported migration within the same province, up from 30.5 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-9b and 1-10b). By comparison, 43.6 percent of non-Aboriginal Canadians aged 25-44 reported relocation within the same province, up from 30.5 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-11b and 1-12b).

In general, the trend towards increased levels of mobility observed for the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population represents a common theme for each of the sub-groups identified under the collective term 'Aboriginal Canadian'.

Strikingly, all other Canadians reported changes in mobility behaviour characterised by a shift towards higher order geographic relocation. Thus, CSD relocation was by and large replaced by intra-provincial migration as the principal type of movement reported by the 1991 Census. While this report cannot offer any precise explanation for this observation, it is reasonable to suggest that shifting regional prospects, closely linked to the reorganization of economic space, exerted a strong influence upon observed changes in mobility patterns between 1986 and 1991.

Box 1-9a. Mobility Behaviour, All Aboriginal Canadians 5 Years Or More, 1991

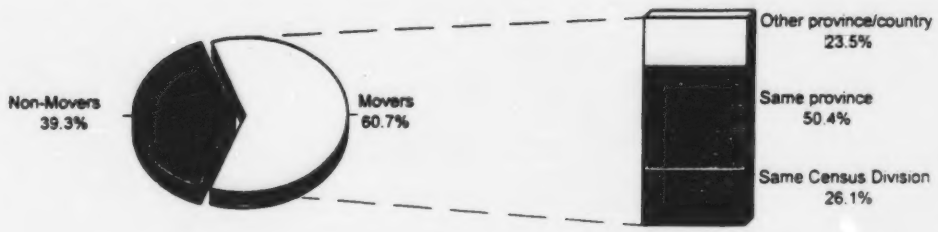
All Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



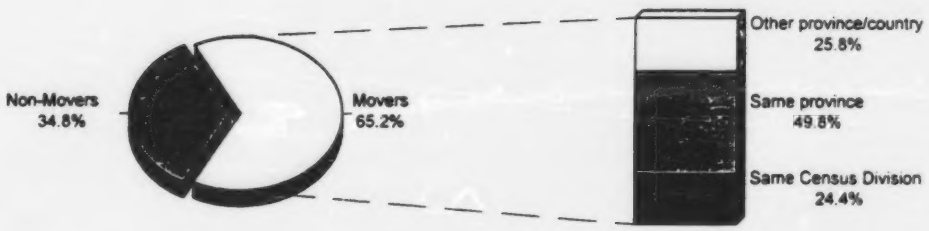
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-9b. Mobility Behaviour, All Aboriginal Canadians 15-44 Years, 1991

All Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



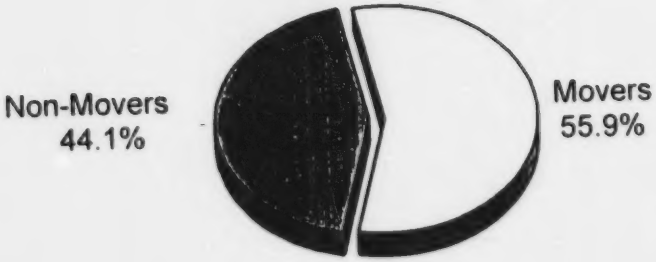
All Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years

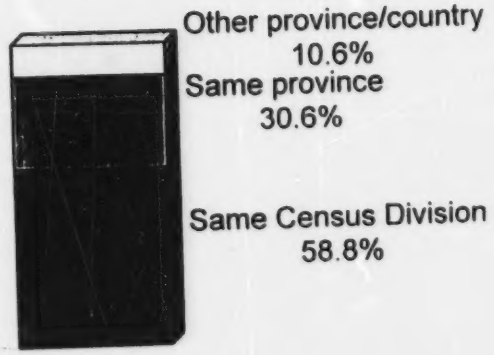


Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-10a. Mobility Behaviour, All Aboriginal Canadians 5 Years Or More, 1986

All Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More

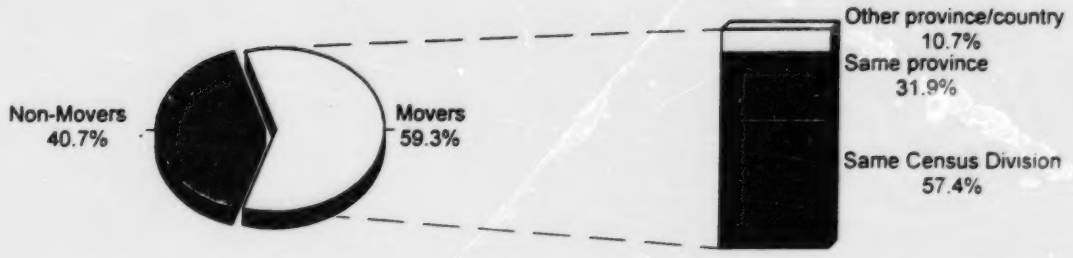




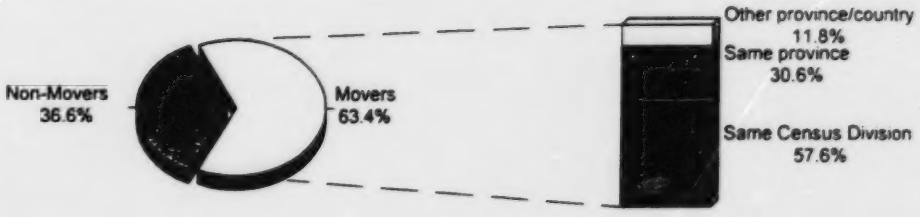
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-10b. Mobility Behaviour, All Aboriginal Canadians 15-44 Years, 1986

All Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



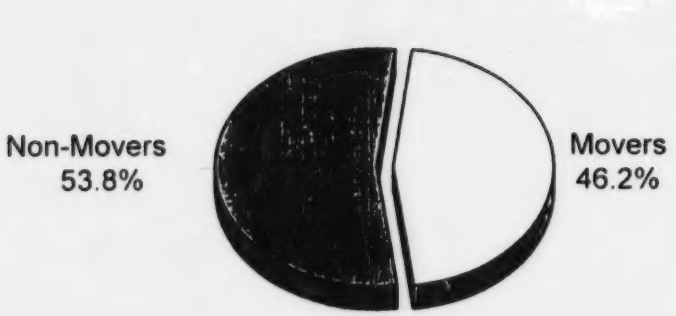
All Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years

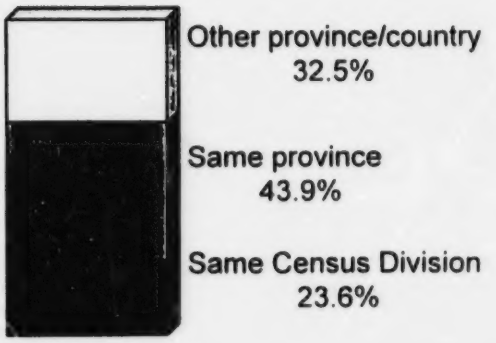


Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-11a. Mobility Behaviour, Non-Aboriginal Canadians 5 Years Or More, 1991

All Non-Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More

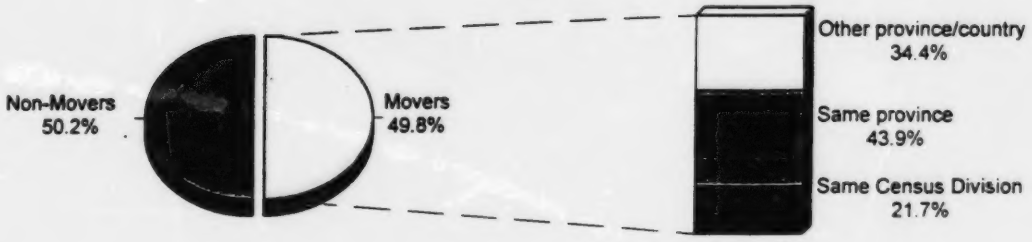




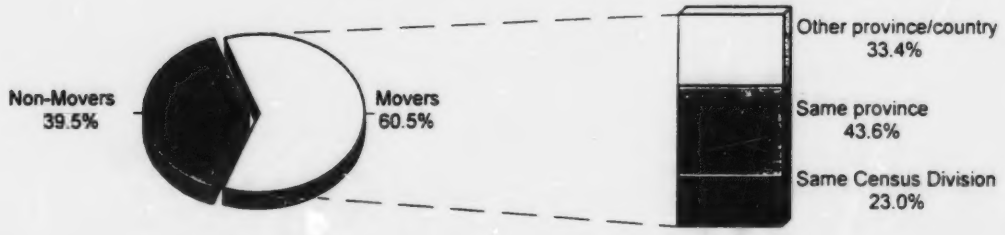
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-11b. Mobility Behaviour, Non-Aboriginal Canadians 15-44 Years, 1991

All Non-Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



All Non-Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

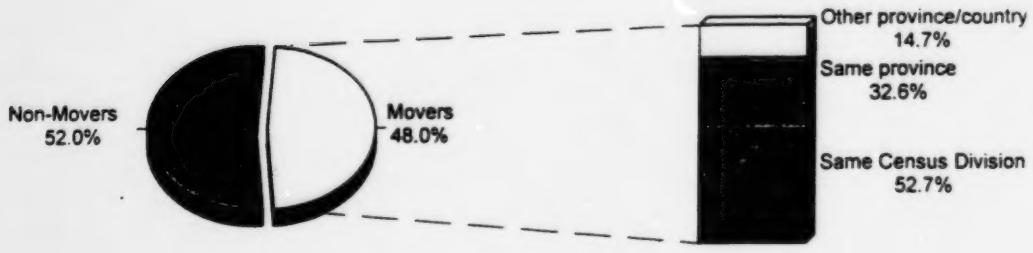
Box 1-12a. Mobility Behaviour, Non-Aboriginal Canadians 5 Years Or More, 1986

All Non-Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More

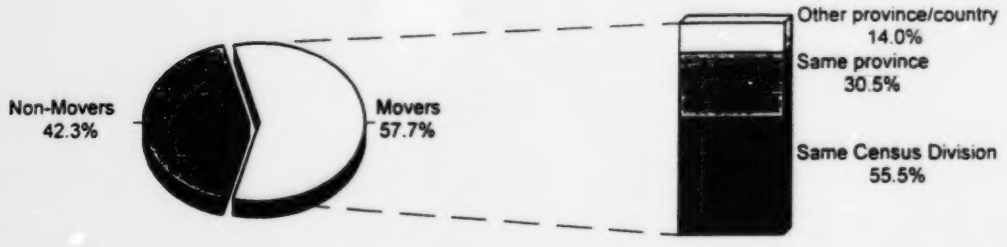
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-12b. Mobility Behaviour, Non-Aboriginal Canadians 15-44 Years, 1986

All Non-Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



All Non-Aboriginal Canadians
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-12b. Mobility Behaviour, Non-Aboriginal Canadians 15-44 Years, 1986

Mobility Behaviour
Registered Indians On Reserve, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-13a,b and 1-14a,b)

In both 1991 and 1986 ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** reported mobility rates of around 40 percent, the lowest level of any group examined in this study. This finding is not unexpected, in that one basic factor constrains the movement of Indians living on reserve to other locations. With the exception of post-secondary funding, all federal benefits that accrue to Registered Indians are tied to the condition that residency be maintained on reserve.

Given this basic disincentive to move, it may seem initially surprising that Registered Indians living on-reserve reported moving as frequently as they did in both 1991 and 1986. However, much of this movement is likely tied to the fact that many bands have access to more than one parcel of reserve land. In all but a few instances, the geographic coding that accompanied the census in both 1991 and 1986 assigned unique CSD numbers to each parcel of land legally designated as a reserve. Thus, any individual movement from one reserve to another, irrespective of band control or membership, would constitute a intra-provincial 'move' as defined under the mobility variable. Therefore, it is likely that the geographic methodology used for the Census inflates mobility levels for Registered Indians living on reserve.

In 1991, 39.5 percent of Registered Indians on reserve were classified as movers, up slightly from 37.5 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-13a and 1-14a). Within the movers category in 1991, 46.6 percent of moves were classified as intra-provincial, up from just 20.1 percent in 1986. The relative share of movers from other provinces or from out of the country nearly quadrupled over the study period, rising to 13.6 percent in 1991 from 3.5 percent in 1986.

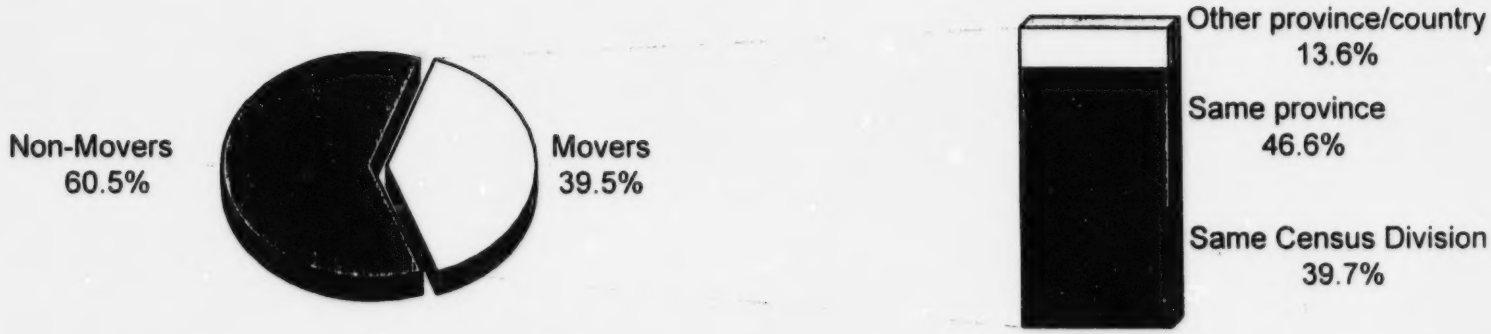
As notable as these changes in the composition of the 'mover' profile may be, neither compares to the profound change that occurred at the smallest scale of geographic relocation, the CSD. In 1986 fully 76.4 percent of all moves occurred within the same CSD, a level unparalleled by any other group examined here. By 1991, this share had declined to just 39.7 percent of all movers. Assuming that much of the rationale for moving is rooted in the search for better economic opportunities, this finding strongly suggests that basic changes occurring in the larger Canadian economic landscape over the study period were exerting an influence on the locational behaviour of Indians living on reserve.

Among Indians on reserve aged 15 to 24, movers constituted 43.4 percent of respondents in 1991, up from 40.5 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-13b and 1-14b). The greatest number of moves in 1991, 45.6 percent, were classified as intra-provincial moves outside of the same CSD, up from just 20.3 percent in 1986. Moves that occurred within the same CSD accounted for 40.9 percent of cases in 1991, down by almost half from the 1986 level of 76.5 percent. Like the overall pattern for all Indians on reserve, the share of moves classified as inter-provincial or out of country quadrupled over the study period, rising to 13.6 percent in 1991 from 3.2 percent in 1986.

Within the cohort aged 25-44, 43.8 percent of Indians living on reserve were classified as movers in 1991, up slightly from the 42.6 percent level recorded in 1986. The relative share of movers accorded to the 'same province' category stood at 48.8 percent in 1991, up sharply from the 22.1 percent level reported in 1986. Those indicating migration from another province or country more than tripled between 1986 and 1991, rising to 13.9 percent from 4.4 percent. Finally the greatest single source of movers in 1986, those who moved within the same CSD, fell from 73.5 percent to just 37.3 percent by 1991.

Box 1-13a. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians On Reserve 5 Years Or More, 1991

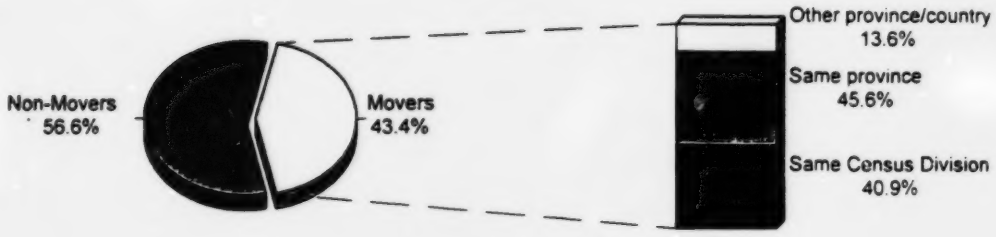
Registered Indians On Reserve
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



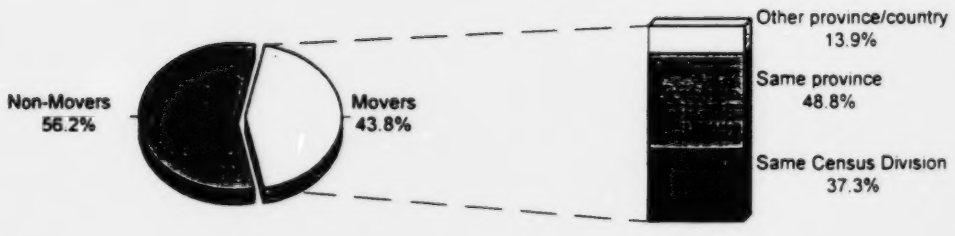
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-13b. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians On Reserve 15-44 Years, 1991

Registered Indians On Reserve
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



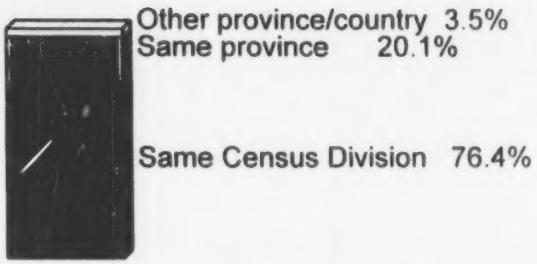
Registered Indians On Reserve
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-14a. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians On Reserve 5 Years Or More, 1986

Registered Indians On Reserve
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-14b. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians On Reserve 15-44 Years, 1986

Registered Indians On Reserve
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years

Registered Indians On Reserve
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Mobility Behaviour
Registered Indians Off Reserve, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-15a,b and 1-16a,b)

Registered Indians living off reserve reported the highest levels of mobility for any of the Aboriginal sub-groups examined in this study. In 1991, 67.8 percent of all respondents were classified as movers, down from 70 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-15a and 1-16a). Despite the high levels of mobility characterising off-reserve Indians in both census years, it is interesting to note that this was the only group whose overall mobility actually declined between 1986 and 1991.

Within the movers category, in 1991 23.3 percent of Indians off reserve reported moving from another province/country, up from just 11.1 percent in 1986. Similarly, movements within the same province were characterised by tremendous growth over the study period, rising to 54.1 percent of movers by 1991, up from 37.4 percent in 1986. As such, movers who indicated mobility at the CSD scale declined to 22.6 percent of cases in 1991, down from 51.5 percent in 1986.

Among Registered Indians off reserve aged 15 to 24, the propensity to move remained extremely high in both 1991 and 1986. In 1991, 71.2 percent of respondents were classified as movers, down only slightly from the 72.7 percent level recorded in 1986 (Boxes 1-15b and 1-16b).

Examining the movers category, in 1991 most off-reserve Indians indicated that they had re-located from another CSD within the same province (55.3 percent of cases, up from 39.7 percent in 1986). Interprovincial and out of country migration accounted for a further 21.5 percent of movers in 1991, up from 11 percent in 1986.

Meanwhile, at the smallest level of geographic movement, 23.3 percent of Registered Indians off reserve within the movers category changed addresses within the same CSD in 1991. In the previous census year, moves that occurred within the same CSD amounted to nearly half (49.3 percent) of reported cases.

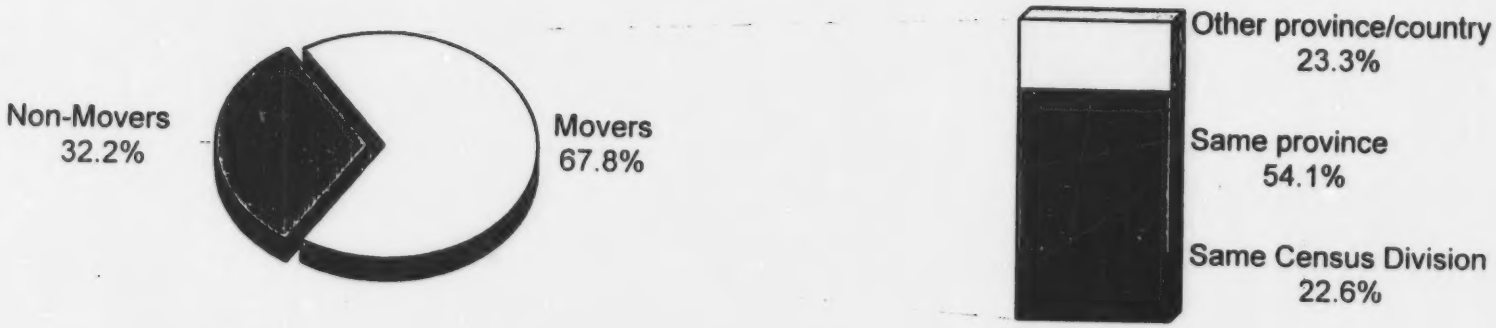
Reflecting the unique economic and social pressures associated with family formation, Registered Indians living off reserve aged 25-44 years were characterised by slightly higher mobility rates than those found in the 15-24 cohort. In 1991, fully 73.4 percent were classified as movers, down from 76.7 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-15b and 1-16b).

Like other populations examined in this study, dramatic changes in the composition of the mobility variable were reported by Registered Indians living off reserve. In 1991, 53.1 percent of movers indicated that they had moved to their current address from another CSD within the same province. By comparison, the same category characterised just 35.9 percent of movers in 1986.

During the same period, the share of respondents who reported moving from another province or from out of the country increased to 25.8 percent in 1991, up from 11.9 percent in 1986. Finally, movers who indicated that they had changed addresses within the same CSD in the previous five year period fell to 21.1 percent from 52.2 percent between 1986 and 1991.

Box 1-15a. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians Off Reserve 5 Years Or More, 1991

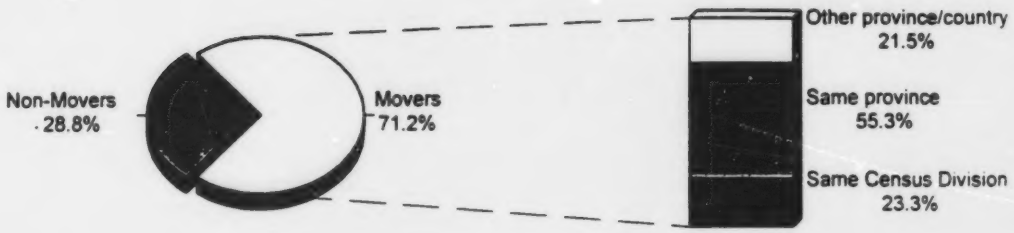
Registered Indians Off Reserve
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



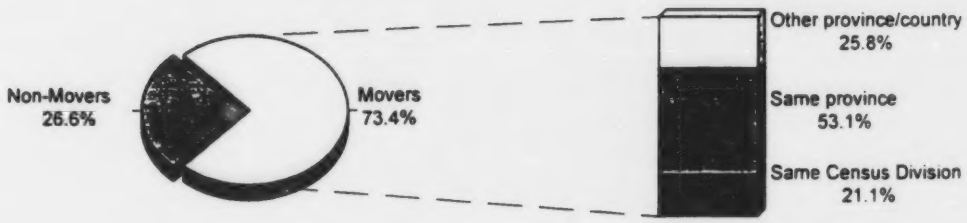
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-15b. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians Off Reserve 15-44 Years, 1991

Registered Indians Off Reserve
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



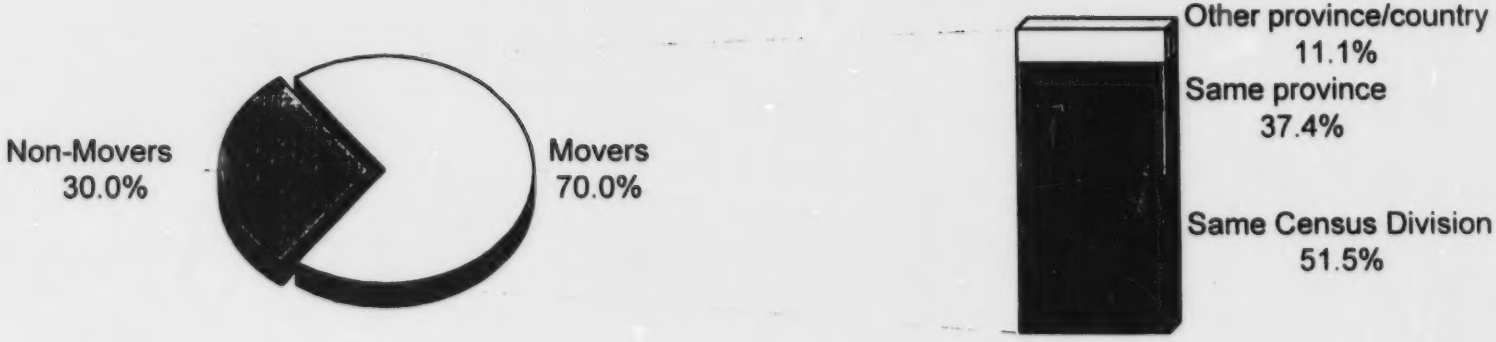
Registered Indians Off Reserve
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-16a. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians Off Reserve 5 Years Or More, 1986

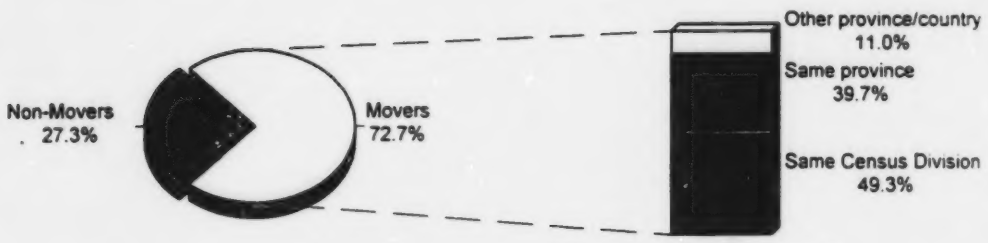
Registered Indians Off Reserve
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



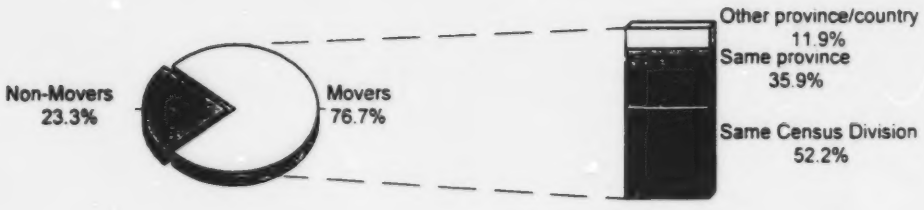
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-16b. Mobility Behaviour, Registered Indians Off Reserve 15-44 Years, 1986

Registered Indians Off Reserve
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



Registered Indians Off Reserve
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Mobility Behaviour
Inuit, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-17a,b and 1-18a,b)

Given the vast distances that characterize Canada's arctic, the delineation of boundaries that establish northern CSDs and all subsequent aggregations are generally larger than those established for more heavily populated southern regions. The sheer size of some of the Census Divisions established in the N.W.T contain as much territory as entire provinces in the rest of Canada. As such, mobility measures for Inuit peoples, concentrated largely in the eastern Arctic (the future Nunavut) and in portions of the western Arctic may not be entirely appropriate. Even at the level of the CSD (the sub-grouping that is the building block of the larger Census Division), the area contained within a particular unit can be vast compared to a southern equivalent. Therefore, measures of mobility for the Inuit should be considered in the light of markedly different scales of geographic measurement. In effect, what might be called a CSD movement by a northern resident could represent an interprovincial move in southern Canada.

By 1991, 57.9 percent of ***Inuit*** persons aged 5 years or more were classified as movers, up from 51.8 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-17a and 1-18a). In both census years, the largest single component of the 'movers' figure was accounted for by residency changes within the same CSD. Thus, in 1991 nearly one-half (49.4 percent) of all moves were within the same CSD, while moves from within the same territory or province amounted to just 23.2 percent of the total.

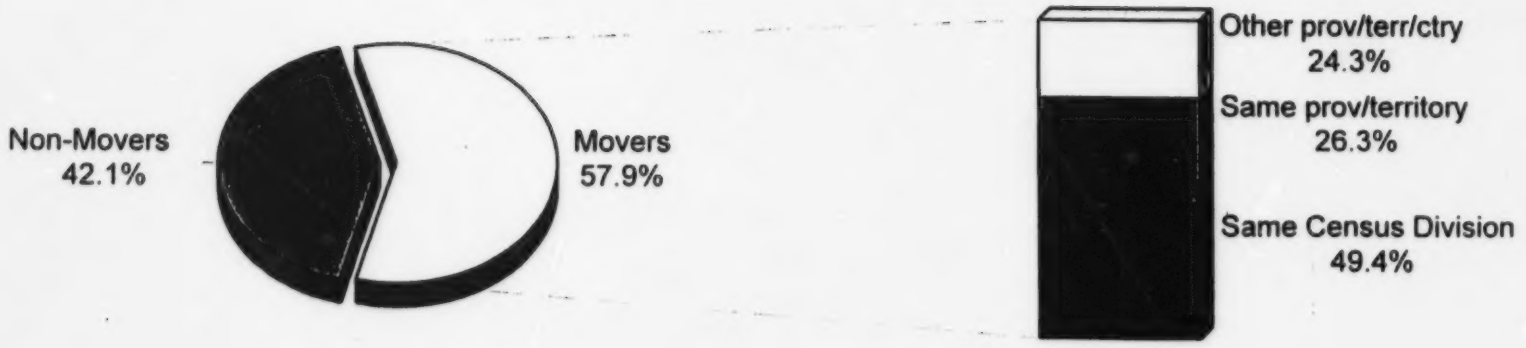
In 1986, the same measure revealed that 72 percent of all moves occurred within the same CSD, with another 20.9 percent of moves accounted for by intra-territorial/provincial relocation. Most surprising, however, is the finding that by 1991 the number of persons who had moved from another province or territory accounted for 24.3 percent of the movers variable, up sharply from the 7.9 percent level reported in 1986.

Among Inuit persons aged 15-24, mobility levels reported for 1991 were only slightly higher than those occurring for the entire Inuit population (Boxes 1-17b and 1-18b). In 1991, 58.9 percent of the 15-24 cohort were classified as movers, a substantial expansion over the 1986 figure of 53.2 percent. Like the overall population, the 15-24 Inuit cohort experienced a sharp increase in inter-territorial/provincial moves. This component of the mover indicator rose to 19.4 percent from 7.9 percent between 1986 and 1991. Intra-territorial/provincial moves among 15-24 year olds remained fairly constant over the period, rising to 23.2 percent in 1991 from 21.4 percent in 1986. Continuing a persistent theme, the proportion of movers who relocated within the same CSD fell from 70.7 percent in 1986 to 57.4 percent by 1991.

In 1991, the proportion of movers to non-movers in the Inuit cohort aged 25-44 years was 2:1. This compares to a 1986 ratio of movers to non-movers of about 3:2 (Boxes 1-17b and 1-18b). Within the movers variable, the components of mobility reveal substantial change over the past two census events. In 1991, 28.5 percent of all movers relocated from another province, territory or country, up from just 7.6 percent in 1986. Moves from within the same CSD declined sharply over the study period, with 42.5 percent of movers indicating this type of relocation in 1991, down from 69.5 percent in 1986. Finally, moves that occurred within the same territory/province increased to 28.9 percent of cases in 1991, up from 22.9 percent in 1986.

Box 1-17a. Mobility Behaviour, Inuit 5 Years Or More, 1991

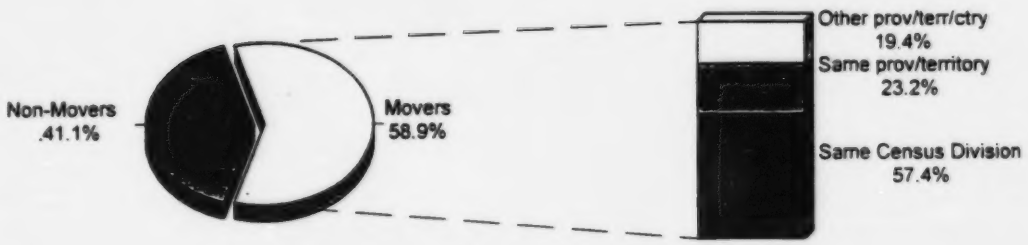
Inuit
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



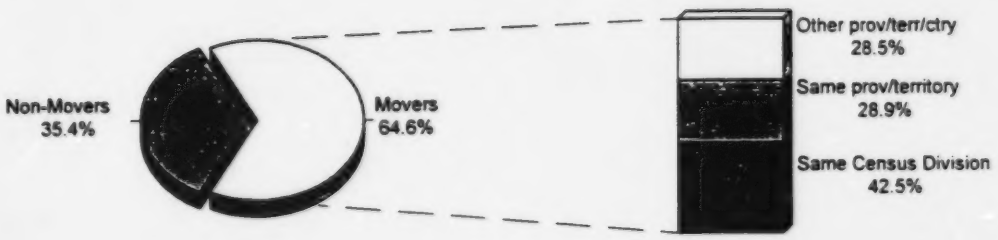
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-17b. Mobility Behaviour, Inuit 15-44 Years 1991

Inuit
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



Inuit
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

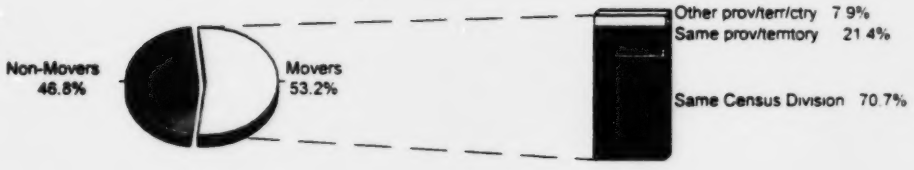
Box 1-18a. Mobility Behaviour, Inuit 5 Years Or More, 1986

Inuit
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-18b. Mobility Behaviour, Inuit 15-44 Years, 1986

Inuit
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



Inuit
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Mobility Behaviour
Métis, 1991 (Box 1-19a,b)

In 1991, 60.5 percent of the ***Métis*** population aged 5 years or more indicated that they had moved sometime in the previous five year period (Box 1-19a). This level of mobility falls approximately half-way between the extremely high rates prevailing in the Registered Indian off reserve population and those experienced by the non-Aboriginal population.

Closer examination of the mobility variable reveals that a very high proportion of Métis movers, 31.3 percent, relocated from another province or country in the previous five year period, a level very similar to the non-Aboriginal experience. Individuals who indicated an intra-provincial move accounted for another 46.5 percent of cases, a level similar to the one reported by non-Aboriginal Canadians in 1991. Moves within the same CSD accounted for the remaining 22.1 percent of the mover population, a level most akin to the experiences reported by non-Aboriginal movers in 1991.

Within the Métis cohort aged 15-24, mobility levels were unusually high in 1991, exceeded only by those reported by the Registered Indian off reserve population (Box 1-19b). Movers represented 63.6 percent of respondents in 1991, a rate only slightly exceeded by Indians living off reserve falling within the same age grouping.

The composition of the movers variable within the 15-24 cohort reveals that 49.9 percent of respondents relocated from within the same province. A further 28.7 percent arrived from another province/country, while the remaining 21.3 percent had relocated within the same CSD. All of these levels were fairly similar to the non-Aboriginal experience.

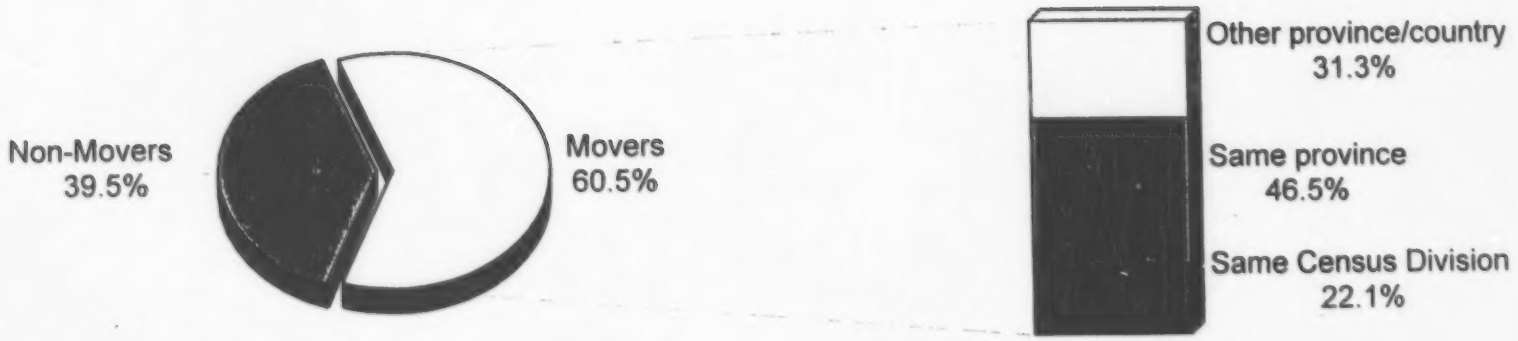
Among the Métis cohort aged 25-44, movers represented 67.2 percent of the population (Box 1-19b). The mobility rate reported for this age group was exceeded only by Registered Indians living off reserve, and was almost seven percentage points higher than the rate reported by non-Aboriginal Canadians aged 25-44.

In 1991, the dynamics of the mover variable among the Métis cohort aged 25-44 were very similar to those reported by non-Aboriginal Canadians. Intra-provincial migration accounted for the greatest percentage of movers, with 45.7 percent indicating this kind of relocation in 1991. By contrast, the same measure for the non-Aboriginal population stood at 43.6 percent in 1991. Another 33 percent of Métis movers were accounted for by relocation from another province/country, compared to a non-Aboriginal level of 33.4 percent in the same year. Finally, 21.3 percent of Métis movers reported relocation from within the same CSD in the preceding five year period, close to the non-Aboriginal experience (23 percent).

Box 1-19a. Mobility Behaviour, Métis 5 Years Or More, 1991

Métis

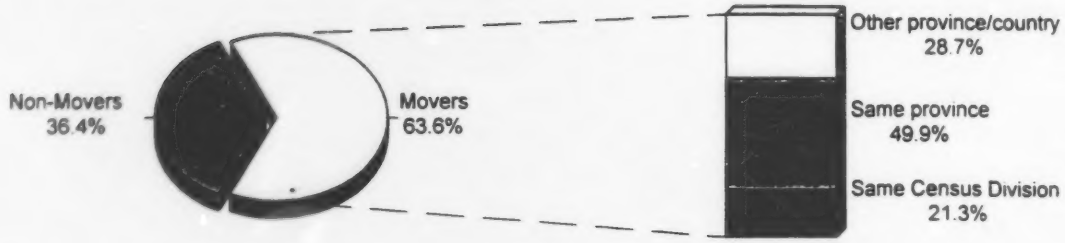
Total Population Aged 5 Years Or More



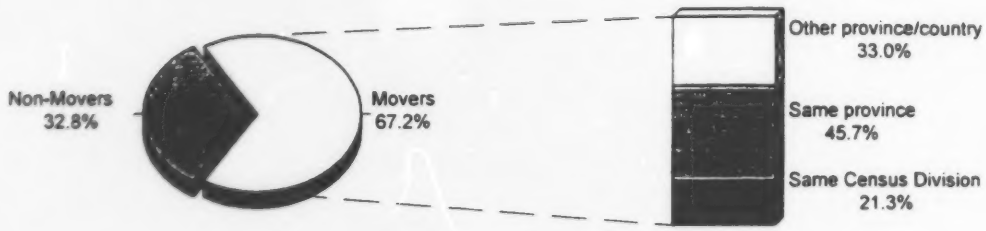
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulation

Box 1-19b. Mobility Behaviour, Métis 15-44 Years, 1991

Métis
Total Population Aged 15-24 Years



Métis
Total Population Aged 25-44 Years



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulation

Presence in Larger Urban Areas
Aboriginals and Registered Indians, 1991 and 1986 (Box 1-20, 1-21)

Large urban centres represent coordinating nodes that concentrate a range of high order services, goods and functions in space. As the focal points for regional trade, communication, manufacturing, transportation and pecuniary links, large cities provide individuals with an opportunity to match their skills to a broad range of employment possibilities. In Canada, the lure of large urban centres is readily affirmed. In 1991, the urban/rural divide in Canada was among the most extreme in the world, with almost 80 percent of the population characterised as urban in 1991.

For ***Aboriginal people***, the lure of better prospects in an urban setting exerts a strong influence on people of working-age. While many Aboriginal families have been thoroughly urbanized for several generations, a continuous stream of young Aboriginal persons, particularly ***Registered Indians living on reserve***, face the prospect of migrating to large urban centres in the search for a better life. The deep historic roots of this contemporary sociological event are chronicled in greater detail by others.[15] However, for workers in Native Friendship Centres, the reality remains that Aboriginal peoples arrive in urban places with a set of cultural sensibilities that are not always amenable to city life.

Box 1-20 indicates that in 1991, CMAs with an Aboriginal presence exceeding one percent of the urban population were found in 7 provinces. In each province, Aboriginal migration to CMAs accelerated between 1986 and 1991. Specifically, the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba (containing the CMAs of Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg) reported Aboriginal populations that exceeded five percent of the urban populace in 1991, a level not observed in the 1986 Census.

At 7.3 percent, Saskatchewan reported the highest proportionate share of Aboriginal persons resident in CMAs in 1991, up from 3.2 percent in 1986 (Boxes 1-20 and 1-21). In Manitoba, 6.8 percent of the population of the Winnipeg CMA indicated Aboriginal ancestry in 1991, up from 4.1 percent in 1986. In Alberta, the Aboriginal share of the CMA population (Calgary and Edmonton) increased to 4.5 percent in 1991, twice the 2.3 percent level reported in 1986. The provinces of Ontario, Quebec and B.C., containing the largest CMAs in Canada (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) reported CMA Aboriginal populations ranging between 1.4 and 3 percent. While this figure may not seem impressive, it should be recalled that the populations of these three CMAs amounted to several million persons in 1991.

Registered Indians represented a sizeable share of the CMA Aboriginal population in both 1991 and 1986. In the more recent census year, the province with the highest proportion of Registered Indians as a component of Aboriginal presence in CMAs was Saskatchewan (42.3 percent) followed by Manitoba (30.1 percent), B.C. (25.4 percent) and Alberta (24.9 percent). By 1991, Registered Indians had substantially increased their share of the overall CMA Aboriginal population in the prairies and in Ontario. In B.C, Nova Scotia and Quebec the Registered Indian share of the CMA Aboriginal population declined between 1986 and 1991.

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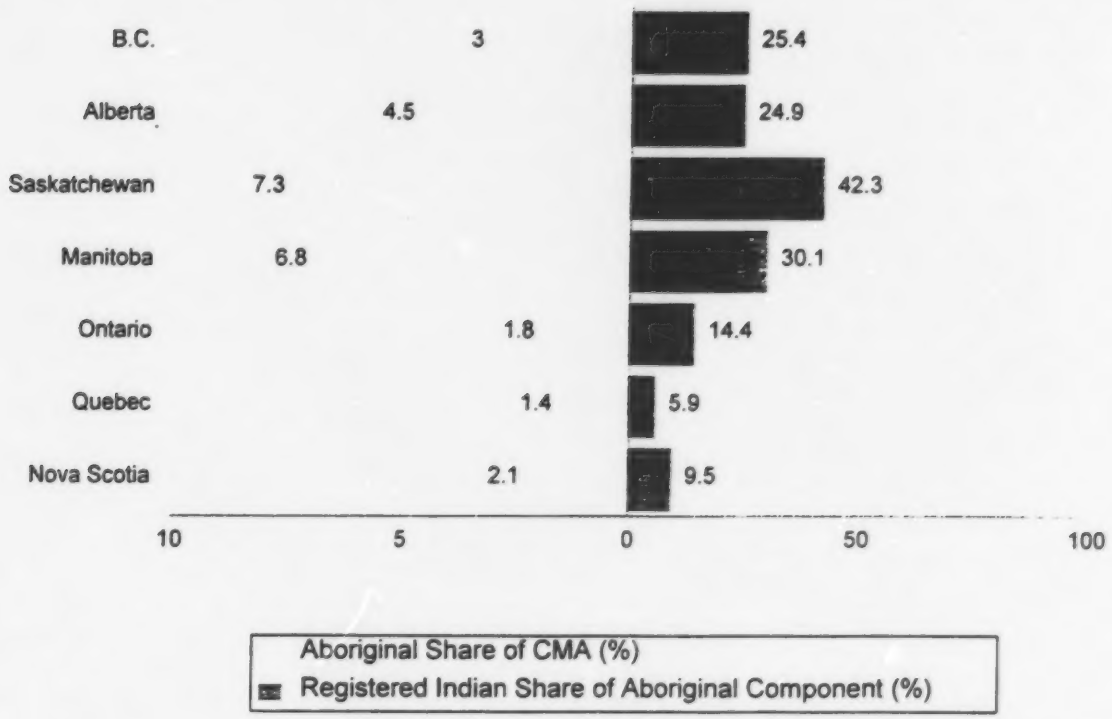
15 Bjorklund, E. M. , 1992, "The Namerind Continents Euro-American Transformation, 1600-1950", pp.5-10 in Janelle, D.G. (ed.) *Geographical Snapshots of North America*, New York, Guildford Press, 1992.

Spates, J.J. and Macionis, J.L., 1982, *The Sociology of Cities*, New York, St. Martins Press. See pages 377-380.

Box 1-20. Presence in Larger Urban Areas, 1991

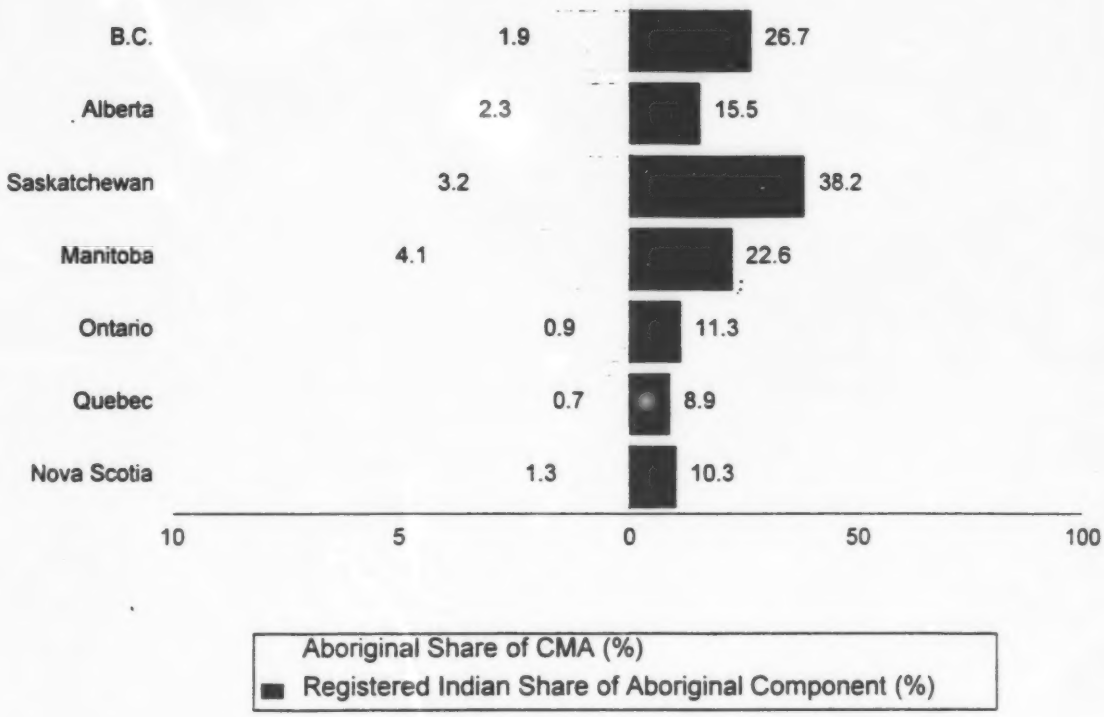
Aboriginal/Registered Indian Ancestry by CMA, 1991



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-21. Presence in Larger Urban Areas, 1986

Aboriginal/Registered Indian Ancestry by CMA, 1986



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Aging Indices
All Ethnicities, 1991 and 1986 (Boxes 1-22 to 1-30)

Boxes 1-22 through 1-30 provide a succinct snapshot of the ***population dynamics*** affecting all of the groups examined in this study. Each of the tables provided in this series are based exclusively on population counts and characteristics reported in the Census of Population, 1991 and 1986. For each of the population groups examined here, cohorts are presented using five year intervals. Subtotals are provided for the populations aged 0-14, 15-64, and 65 years or more, as well as a total population count for each group. Geographic coverage is provided for specific groups both at the Canada level and for the on and off reserve population. Specific and cumulative percentages are provided for each of the three principal columns contained in each table (Canada Total, On Reserve Total, Off Reserve Total). All tables are presented using an identical structure facilitating ease of use and quick comparisons between groups.

Two simple measures are provided for each population that allow for intergroup comparisons that are not dependent upon age standardization or other statistical adjustments. These are briefly defined and discussed for the readers benefit.

Aging Index: Conceptually, the *Aging Index* can be defined as the number of persons deemed aged, divided by the number of persons considered youthful. While this measure can seem arbitrary, it provides quick insight into the structure of any given population. For this study, the aged cohort is assumed to be all persons aged 65 or more, while the youth cohort consists of persons aged 0-14 years. In 1991, groups examined in this study at the Canada level of geography produced index scores that ranged from a low of 0.11 for the Inuit population, to a high of 0.76 for the non-Aboriginal population. Scores that approach 0 indicate a relatively youthful group, while scores approaching 1 or more are symptomatic of an aging population.

Dependency Ratio: The *Dependency Ratio* provides a simple measure of the extent to which the working-age group (population aged 15-64) supports both the elderly (population aged 65+) and the young (population aged 0-14). While Canada extends a range of government services to the elderly and young, it is reasonable to suggest that the working-age population plays a decisive role in ensuring the health and security of those who cannot support themselves independently. The ratio is calculated by summing the population aged 0-14 and 65+, and dividing the total by the sum of the working-age population (15-64 years). Scores that tend towards 1 indicate a high proportion of dependents per worker, and can be symptomatic of either an aging or youthful population. Alternatively, scores that fall around 0.5 suggest a population that is in a state of transition, with a preponderance of workers relative to the dependent population.

Box 1-22. Aboriginal Canadians On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1991.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
ABORIGINAL	0-4	136,160	13.4%	13.4%	27,360	13.9%	13.9%	108,810	13.3%	13.3%
	5-9	121,490	12.0%	25.4%	24,915	12.7%	26.6%	96,580	11.8%	25.1%
	10-14	107,390	10.6%	35.9%	22,350	11.4%	38.0%	85,045	10.4%	35.4%
	Subtotal 0-14	365,040	35.9%		74,625	38.0%		290,435	35.4%	
	15-19	98,515	9.7%	45.6%	20,445	10.4%	48.4%	78,070	9.5%	45.0%
	20-24	92,545	9.1%	54.7%	17,525	8.9%	57.3%	75,020	9.2%	54.1%
	25-29	99,210	9.8%	64.5%	16,685	8.5%	65.8%	82,525	10.1%	64.2%
	30-34	92,570	9.1%	73.6%	14,735	7.5%	73.3%	77,835	9.5%	73.7%
	35-39	74,700	7.3%	80.9%	11,395	5.8%	79.1%	63,300	7.7%	81.4%
	40-44	57,865	5.7%	86.6%	9,305	4.7%	83.8%	48,565	5.9%	87.3%
	45-49	39,120	3.8%	90.5%	7,475	3.8%	87.6%	31,640	3.9%	91.2%
	50-54	29,250	2.9%	93.4%	6,015	3.1%	90.7%	23,235	2.8%	94.0%
	55-59	21,860	2.2%	95.5%	5,165	2.6%	93.3%	16,695	2.0%	96.0%
	60-64	15,905	1.6%	97.1%	4,145	2.1%	95.4%	11,755	1.4%	97.5%
	Subtotal 15-64	621,540	97.1%		112,890	95.4%		508,640	97.5%	
	65-69	12,125	1.2%	98.3%	3,275	1.7%	97.1%	8,850	1.1%	98.6%
	70-74	7,805	0.8%	99.0%	2,340	1.2%	98.3%	5,460	0.7%	99.2%
	75-79	5,200	0.5%	99.5%	1,710	0.9%	99.1%	3,490	0.4%	99.6%
	80 +	4,620	0.5%	100.0%	1,700	0.9%	100.0%	2,915	0.4%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	45,655	2.9%		13,170	4.6%		32,470	2.5%	
	Total Population	1,016,335			196,535			819,800		
	Aging Index	0.13			0.18			0.11		
	Dependency Ratio	0.58			0.69			0.55		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-23. Aboriginal Canadians On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1986.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
ABORIGINAL	0-4	93,045	13.1%	13.1%	23,155	13.5%	13.5%	69,885	12.9%	12.9%
	5-9	85,555	12.0%	25.1%	21,380	12.5%	26.0%	64,175	11.9%	24.8%
	10-14	81,175	11.4%	36.5%	21,090	12.3%	38.3%	60,085	11.1%	35.9%
	Subtotal 0-14	259,775			65,625			194,145		
	15-19	76,410	10.7%	47.2%	20,665	12.1%	50.3%	55,745	10.3%	46.3%
	20-24	74,560	10.5%	57.7%	16,780	9.8%	60.1%	57,775	10.7%	56.9%
	25-29	71,100	10.0%	67.7%	13,970	8.1%	68.3%	57,130	10.6%	67.5%
	30-34	58,805	8.3%	76.0%	10,915	6.4%	74.6%	47,890	8.9%	76.4%
	35-39	47,390	6.7%	82.6%	8,900	5.2%	79.8%	38,490	7.1%	83.5%
	40-44	32,885	4.6%	87.2%	7,170	4.2%	84.0%	25,720	4.8%	88.3%
	45-49	24,415	3.4%	90.7%	6,000	3.5%	87.5%	18,415	3.4%	91.7%
	50-54	19,625	2.8%	93.4%	5,315	3.1%	90.6%	14,315	2.6%	94.3%
	55-59	15,060	2.1%	95.5%	4,410	2.6%	93.2%	10,655	2.0%	96.3%
	60-64	11,100	1.6%	97.1%	3,605	2.1%	95.3%	7,500	1.4%	97.7%
	Subtotal 15-64	431,350	60.6%		97,730	57.0%		333,635	61.8%	
	65-69	7,845	1.1%	98.2%	2,880	1.7%	97.0%	4,960	0.9%	98.6%
	70-74	5,885	0.8%	99.0%	2,285	1.3%	98.3%	3,600	0.7%	99.3%
	75-79	3,875	0.5%	99.6%	1,530	0.9%	99.2%	2,350	0.4%	99.7%
	80 +	2,995	0.4%	100.0%	1,400	0.8%	100.0%	1,595	0.3%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	31,700	2.9%		11,700	4.7%		20,005	2.3%	
	Total Population	711,725			171,450			540,285		
	Aging Index	0.12			0.18			0.10		
	Dependency Ratio	0.59			0.71			0.56		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-24. Registered Indians On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1991.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
REGISTERED	0-4	50,875	13.2%	13.2%	26,175	13.8%	13.8%	24,700	12.6%	12.6%
INDIAN	5-9	46,090	11.9%	25.1%	24,180	12.7%	26.5%	21,910	11.2%	23.8%
	10-14	41,500	10.8%	35.9%	21,730	11.4%	37.9%	19,765	10.1%	34.0%
	Subtotal 0-14	138,465	35.9%		72,085	37.9%		66,375	34.0%	
	15-19	39,905	10.3%	46.2%	19,935	10.5%	48.3%	19,975	10.2%	44.2%
	20-24	36,975	9.6%	55.8%	17,000	8.9%	57.3%	19,975	10.2%	54.4%
	25-29	36,705	9.5%	65.3%	16,095	8.5%	65.7%	20,615	10.5%	64.9%
	30-34	31,935	8.3%	73.6%	14,285	7.5%	73.2%	17,655	9.0%	74.0%
	35-39	25,135	6.5%	80.1%	11,040	5.8%	79.0%	14,090	7.2%	81.2%
	40-44	19,730	5.1%	85.2%	9,030	4.7%	83.8%	10,700	5.5%	86.7%
	45-49	14,840	3.8%	89.1%	7,220	3.8%	87.6%	7,620	3.9%	90.6%
	50-54	11,820	3.1%	92.1%	5,850	3.1%	90.7%	5,970	3.1%	93.6%
	55-59	9,175	2.4%	94.5%	5,010	2.6%	93.3%	4,165	2.1%	95.7%
	60-64	7,060	1.8%	96.4%	4,015	2.1%	95.4%	3,065	1.6%	97.3%
	Subtotal 15-64	233,300	96.4%		109,480	95.4%		123,830	97.3%	
	65-69	5,455	1.4%	97.8%	3,185	1.7%	97.1%	2,270	1.2%	98.5%
	70-74	3,580	0.9%	98.7%	2,255	1.2%	98.3%	1,320	0.7%	99.1%
	75-79	2,510	0.7%	99.4%	1,665	0.9%	99.1%	850	0.4%	99.6%
	80 +	2,480	0.6%	100.0%	1,665	0.9%	100.0%	820	0.4%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	21,105	3.6%		12,785	4.6%		8,325	2.7%	
	Total Population	385,800			190,335			195,465		
	Aging Index	0.15			0.18			0.13		
	Dependency Ratio	0.60			0.69			0.53		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-25. Registered Indians On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1986.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
REGISTERED	0-4	36,020	13.7%	13.7%	22,140	13.5%	13.5%	13,880	14.0%	14.0%
INDIAN	5-9	33,270	12.6%	26.3%	20,520	12.5%	26.0%	12,755	12.9%	26.9%
	10-14	32,320	12.3%	38.6%	20,215	12.3%	38.3%	12,100	12.2%	39.1%
	Subtotal 0-14	101,610	38.6%		62,875	38.3%		38,735	39.1%	
	15-19	31,060	11.8%	50.4%	19,830	12.1%	50.3%	11,230	11.3%	50.5%
	20-24	27,150	10.3%	60.7%	15,970	9.7%	60.1%	11,180	11.3%	61.8%
	25-29	23,205	8.8%	69.5%	13,370	8.1%	68.2%	9,840	9.9%	71.7%
	30-34	17,860	6.8%	76.3%	10,450	6.4%	74.5%	7,410	7.5%	79.2%
	35-39	14,460	5.5%	81.8%	8,545	5.2%	79.7%	5,915	6.0%	85.2%
	40-44	11,075	4.2%	86.0%	6,870	4.2%	83.9%	4,200	4.2%	89.5%
	45-49	8,710	3.3%	89.3%	5,740	3.5%	87.4%	2,975	3.0%	92.5%
	50-54	7,395	2.8%	92.1%	5,110	3.1%	90.5%	2,285	2.3%	94.8%
	55-59	5,970	2.3%	94.4%	4,260	2.6%	93.1%	1,710	1.7%	96.5%
	60-64	4,770	1.8%	96.2%	3,475	2.1%	95.2%	1,300	1.3%	97.8%
	Subtotal 15-64	151,655	96.2%		93,620	95.2%		58,045	97.8%	
	65-69	3,640	1.4%	97.6%	2,770	1.7%	96.9%	870	0.9%	98.7%
	70-74	2,800	1.1%	98.7%	2,205	1.3%	98.3%	595	0.6%	99.3%
	75-79	1,880	0.7%	99.4%	1,480	0.9%	99.2%	400	0.4%	99.7%
	80 +	1,665	0.6%	100.0%	1,365	0.8%	100.0%	300	0.3%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	14,755	3.8%		11,295	4.8%		3,465	2.2%	
	Total Population	263,250			164,315			98,945		
	Aging Index	0.15			0.18			0.09		
	Dependency Ratio	0.69			0.71			0.64		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-26. Inuit On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1991.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
INUIT	0-4	4,485	15.2%	15.2%	50	17.2%	17.2%	4,435	15.2%	15.2%
	5-9	3,750	12.7%	28.0%	35	12.1%	29.3%	3,720	12.8%	28.0%
	10-14	3,270	11.1%	39.1%	25	8.6%	37.9%	3,245	11.1%	39.1%
	Subtotal 0-14	11,505	39.1%		110	37.9%		11,400	39.1%	
	15-19	2,950	10.0%	49.1%	25	8.6%	46.6%	2,925	10.0%	49.1%
	20-24	3,185	10.8%	59.9%	30	10.3%	56.9%	3,155	10.8%	59.9%
	25-29	2,770	9.4%	69.3%	30	10.3%	67.2%	2,740	9.4%	69.3%
	30-34	2,205	7.5%	76.8%	20	6.9%	74.1%	2,190	7.5%	76.9%
	35-39	1,565	5.3%	82.1%	15	5.2%	79.3%	1,545	5.3%	82.2%
	40-44	1,400	4.8%	86.8%	15	5.2%	84.5%	1,380	4.7%	86.9%
	45-49	970	3.3%	90.1%	20	6.9%	91.4%	955	3.3%	90.2%
	50-54	830	2.8%	93.0%	0	0.0%	91.4%	825	2.8%	93.0%
	55-59	780	2.6%	95.6%	10	3.4%	94.8%	770	2.6%	95.6%
	60-64	500	1.7%	97.3%	10	3.4%	98.3%	490	1.7%	97.3%
	Subtotal 15-64	17,155	97.3%		175	98.3%		16,975	97.3%	
	65-69	280	1.0%	98.3%	0	0.0%	98.3%	280	1.0%	98.3%
	70-74	230	0.8%	99.0%	0	0.0%	98.3%	225	0.8%	99.0%
	75-79	165	0.6%	99.6%	10	3.4%	101.7%	160	0.5%	99.6%
	80 +	110	0.4%	100.0%	0	0.0%	101.7%	110	0.4%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	1,285	2.7%		20	3.4%		1,265	2.7%	
	Total Population	29,455			290			29,160		
	Aging Index	0.11			0.18			0.11		
	Dependency Ratio	0.66			0.67			0.66		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-27. Inuit, On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1986.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
INUIT	0-4	4,880	14.6%	14.6%	70	14.0%	14.0%	4,815	14.6%	14.6%
	5-9	4,340	13.0%	27.6%	55	11.0%	25.0%	4,285	13.0%	27.6%
	10-14	4,080	12.2%	39.7%	50	10.0%	35.0%	4,025	12.2%	39.8%
	Subtotal 0-14	13,300			175			13,125		
	15-19	4,160	12.4%	52.2%	65	13.0%	48.0%	4,100	12.4%	52.3%
	20-24	3,740	11.2%	63.3%	60	12.0%	60.0%	3,675	11.2%	63.4%
	25-29	2,700	8.1%	71.4%	60	12.0%	72.0%	2,640	8.0%	71.4%
	30-34	2,035	6.1%	77.5%	20	4.0%	76.0%	2,010	6.1%	77.5%
	35-39	1,920	5.7%	83.2%	30	6.0%	82.0%	1,895	5.8%	83.3%
	40-44	1,310	3.9%	87.2%	20	4.0%	86.0%	1,295	3.9%	87.2%
	45-49	1,180	3.5%	90.7%	20	4.0%	90.0%	1,160	3.5%	90.7%
	50-54	1,050	3.1%	93.8%	25	5.0%	95.0%	1,025	3.1%	93.8%
	55-59	745	2.2%	96.0%	15	3.0%	98.0%	730	2.2%	96.1%
	60-64	465	1.4%	97.4%	10	2.0%	100.0%	455	1.4%	97.4%
	Subtotal 15-64	19,305	57.7%		325	65.0%		18,985	57.6%	
	65-69	380	1.1%	98.6%	0	0.0%	100.0%	370	1.1%	98.6%
	70-74	260	0.8%	99.3%	0	0.0%	100.0%	255	0.8%	99.3%
	75-79	125	0.4%	99.7%	0	0.0%	100.0%	125	0.4%	99.7%
	80 +	95	0.3%	100.0%	0	0.0%	100.0%	95	0.3%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	1,325	2.6%		10	0.0%		1,300	2.6%	
	Total Population	33,465			500			32,955		
	Aging Index	0.10			0.06			0.10		
	Dependency Ratio	0.69			0.54			0.69		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-28. Métis On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1991.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
MÉTIS	0-4	7,440	11.5%	11.5%	150	11.4%	11.4%	7,290	11.5%	11.5%
	5-9	6,950	10.8%	22.3%	125	9.5%	20.8%	6,825	10.8%	22.3%
	10-14	6,610	10.2%	32.5%	125	9.5%	30.3%	6,480	10.3%	32.6%
	Subtotal 0-14	21,000	32.5%		400	30.3%		20,595	32.6%	
	15-19	6,580	10.2%	42.7%	135	10.2%	40.5%	6,445	10.2%	42.8%
	20-24	5,915	9.2%	51.9%	135	10.2%	50.8%	5,780	9.1%	51.9%
	25-29	5,910	9.2%	61.1%	165	12.5%	63.3%	5,740	9.1%	61.0%
	30-34	5,520	8.6%	69.6%	105	8.0%	71.2%	5,415	8.6%	69.6%
	35-39	4,565	7.1%	76.7%	95	7.2%	78.4%	4,470	7.1%	76.6%
	40-44	3,835	5.9%	82.6%	60	4.5%	83.0%	3,775	6.0%	82.6%
	45-49	2,710	4.2%	86.8%	55	4.2%	87.1%	2,655	4.2%	86.8%
	50-54	2,420	3.8%	90.6%	45	3.4%	90.5%	2,375	3.8%	90.6%
	55-59	1,785	2.8%	93.4%	35	2.7%	93.2%	1,745	2.8%	93.3%
	60-64	1,420	2.2%	95.6%	40	3.0%	96.2%	1,380	2.2%	95.5%
	Subtotal 15-64	40,660	95.6%		870	96.2%		39,780	95.5%	
	65-69	1,070	1.7%	97.2%	20	1.5%	97.7%	1,050	1.7%	97.2%
	70-74	845	1.3%	98.5%	20	1.5%	99.2%	825	1.3%	98.5%
	75-79	550	0.9%	99.4%	10	0.8%	100.0%	540	0.9%	99.3%
	80 +	415	0.6%	100.0%	10	0.8%	100.8%	405	0.6%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	4,300	4.5%		100	4.5%		4,200	4.5%	
	Total Population	64,530			1,320			63,210		
	Aging Index	0.20			0.25			0.20		
	Dependency Ratio	0.55			0.51			0.55		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-29. Non-Aboriginal Canadians On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1991.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
NON-	0-4	1,767,850	6.8%	6.8%	880	4.5%	4.5%	1,766,975	6.8%	6.8%
ABORIGINAL	5-9	1,784,170	6.9%	13.7%	810	4.1%	8.7%	1,783,355	6.9%	13.7%
	10-14	1,772,230	6.8%	20.5%	805	4.1%	12.8%	1,771,425	6.8%	20.5%
	Subtotal 0-14	5,324,250	20.5%		2,495	12.8%		5,321,755	20.5%	
	15-19	1,773,715	6.8%	27.3%	760	3.9%	16.7%	1,772,955	6.8%	27.3%
	20-24	1,868,050	7.2%	34.5%	1,185	6.1%	22.7%	1,866,865	7.2%	34.5%
	25-29	2,258,680	8.7%	43.2%	1,620	8.3%	31.0%	2,257,060	8.7%	43.2%
	30-34	2,389,875	9.2%	52.4%	1,540	7.9%	38.9%	2,388,335	9.2%	52.4%
	35-39	2,197,810	8.5%	60.9%	1,385	7.1%	46.0%	2,196,425	8.5%	60.9%
	40-44	2,023,200	7.8%	68.7%	1,320	6.8%	52.8%	2,021,880	7.8%	68.7%
	45-49	1,598,385	6.2%	74.8%	1,150	5.9%	58.7%	1,597,230	6.2%	74.8%
	50-54	1,293,695	5.0%	79.8%	1,170	6.0%	64.7%	1,292,525	5.0%	79.8%
	55-59	1,195,705	4.6%	84.4%	1,300	6.7%	71.3%	1,194,405	4.6%	84.4%
	60-64	1,151,760	4.4%	88.8%	1,645	8.4%	79.8%	1,150,110	4.4%	88.8%
	Subtotal 15-64	17,750,875	68.8%		13,075	79.8%		17,737,790	68.8%	
	65-69	1,044,875	4.0%	92.8%	1,635	8.4%	88.1%	1,043,240	4.0%	92.9%
	70-74	788,125	3.0%	95.9%	1,115	5.7%	93.9%	787,005	3.0%	95.9%
	75-79	569,960	2.2%	98.1%	775	4.0%	97.8%	569,190	2.2%	98.1%
	80 +	499,610	1.9%	100.0%	420	2.2%	100.0%	499,180	1.9%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	4,054,330	11.2%		5,590	20.2%		4,048,725	11.2%	
	Total Population	25,977,700			19,520			25,958,185		
	Aging Index	0.76			2.24			0.76		
	Dependency Ratio	0.47			0.55			0.47		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 1-30. Non-Aboriginal Canadians On and Off Reserve, Aging Indices 1986.

Ethnicity	Age Cohorts	Canada Total	Percent	Cumulative	On Reserve	Percent	Cumulative	Off Reserve	Percent	Cumulative
NON-	0-4	1,717,015	7.1%	7.1%	955	5.9%	5.9%	1,716,060	7.1%	7.1%
ABORIGINAL	5-9	1,708,385	7.0%	14.1%	755	4.7%	10.6%	1,707,635	7.0%	14.1%
	10-14	1,702,730	7.0%	21.1%	685	4.3%	14.9%	1,702,045	7.0%	21.1%
	Subtotal 0-14	5,128,130	21.1%		2,395	14.9%		5,125,740	21.1%	
	15-19	1,840,840	7.6%	28.7%	840	5.2%	20.1%	1,839,995	7.6%	28.7%
	20-24	2,169,385	8.9%	37.6%	1,315	8.2%	28.3%	2,168,070	8.9%	37.6%
	25-29	2,256,395	9.3%	46.9%	1,680	10.4%	38.7%	2,254,715	9.3%	46.9%
	30-34	2,119,510	8.7%	55.6%	1,330	8.3%	47.0%	2,118,185	8.7%	55.6%
	35-39	1,967,730	8.1%	63.7%	1,240	7.7%	54.7%	1,966,490	8.1%	63.7%
	40-44	1,578,835	6.5%	70.2%	875	5.4%	60.1%	1,577,955	6.5%	70.2%
	45-49	1,284,845	5.3%	75.5%	775	4.8%	64.9%	1,284,070	5.3%	75.5%
	50-54	1,204,100	5.0%	80.4%	810	5.0%	70.0%	1,203,290	5.0%	80.4%
	55-59	1,182,530	4.9%	85.3%	1,070	6.6%	76.6%	1,181,460	4.9%	85.3%
	60-64	1,103,420	4.5%	89.8%	1,115	6.9%	83.5%	1,102,300	4.5%	89.8%
	Subtotal 15-64	16,707,590	89.8%		11,050	83.5%		16,696,530	89.8%	
	65-69	893,390	3.7%	93.5%	1,105	6.9%	90.4%	892,285	3.7%	93.5%
	70-74	711,375	2.9%	96.4%	920	5.7%	96.1%	710,455	2.9%	96.4%
	75-79	469,415	1.9%	98.4%	390	2.4%	98.5%	469,025	1.9%	98.4%
	80 +	400,380	1.6%	100.0%	235	1.5%	100.0%	400,145	1.6%	100.0%
	Subtotal 65+	3,577,980	10.2%		3,765	16.5%		3,574,210	10.2%	
	Total Population	24,310,280			16,095			24,294,180		
	Aging Index	0.70			1.57			0.70		
	Dependency Ratio	0.46			0.50			0.46		

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

2. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Family Structure, 1991 and 1986 (Table 2-1 and Box 2-1)

In plural societies like Canada, definitions of family necessarily reflect conceptions that are closely tied to the dominant culture's sense of what comprises a family unit. This study does not enter into the debate over the need for the development and application of culturally relevant family concepts. Instead, findings presented in this section are premised entirely on census-based notions of family. While the census does not directly address the concept of extended family support systems, it does provide a basic approach for drawing broad comparisons about core family structures between several self-identified groups. As such, it is an information source that is germane to this study.

Table 2-1. Family Structure 1991, 1986

Census Year	Family Structure	Aboriginal	Registered Indian On Reserve	Registered Indian Off Reserve	Inuit	Métis	Non-Aboriginal
				(Percent)			
1991	Husband-Wife	81.9	77.2	73.4	81.1	74.6	87.3
	Lone Male	2.4	5.6	2.4	4.0	3.7	2.2
	Lone Female	15.7	17.2	24.1	15.9	21.7	10.5
	Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
1986	Husband-Wife	80.7	75.6	70.1	81.0	..	87.5
	Lone Male	2.9	6.6	2.4	5.1	..	2.2
	Lone Female	16.4	17.8	27.5	13.8	..	10.2
	Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations 1991, 1986.
Note: Figures may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Table 2-1 and Box 2-1 present summary data illustrating the prevalence of single parent families in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. As indicated by the data, the number of single-parent families varies substantially in the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. However, the vast majority of families in every group examined here follow a kinship pattern based upon two parents and children, the so-called nuclear family model. While this family form has been shown to suffer many unique shortcomings of its own, it is generally viewed as being ideally suited to the economic structure of industrial societies.[1] Moreover, a growing mass of longitudinal evidence strongly suggests that children reared in a nuclear family structure fare more successfully in adult life than children raised in lone-parent households.[2,3,4] The results of these studies may reflect an ethnocentric research bias

1 Kottak, C., 1978, *Anthropology: The Exploration of Human Diversity*, New York, Random House.

2 Blakeslee, S. and Wallerstein, J., 1989, *Second Chances: Men, Women, and Children a Decade After Divorce*, New York, Ticknor and Fields.

3 Etzioni, A., 1993, *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities, and the Communitarian Agenda*. New York, Crown Publishing Group.

4 McLanahan, S. and Garfinkel, I, 1986, *Single Mothers and Their Children: A New American Dilemma*. Washington, Urban Institute.

that renders them less applicable to assessing Aboriginal family circumstances. Nevertheless, in the absence of more culturally-specific research, these longitudinal studies do seem to present some generalizable truths.

In 1991, ***Aboriginal*** families headed by either a single male or female accounted for 18.1 percent of all households, down slightly from the 1986 level of 19.3 percent. Within lone-parent Aboriginal families, females represented the family head 86.7 percent of the time in 1991, up from the 85 percent level reported in 1986. By contrast, lone-parent non-Aboriginal families were headed by females in 82.6 percent of all cases in 1991, down from the 1986 level of 85 percent.

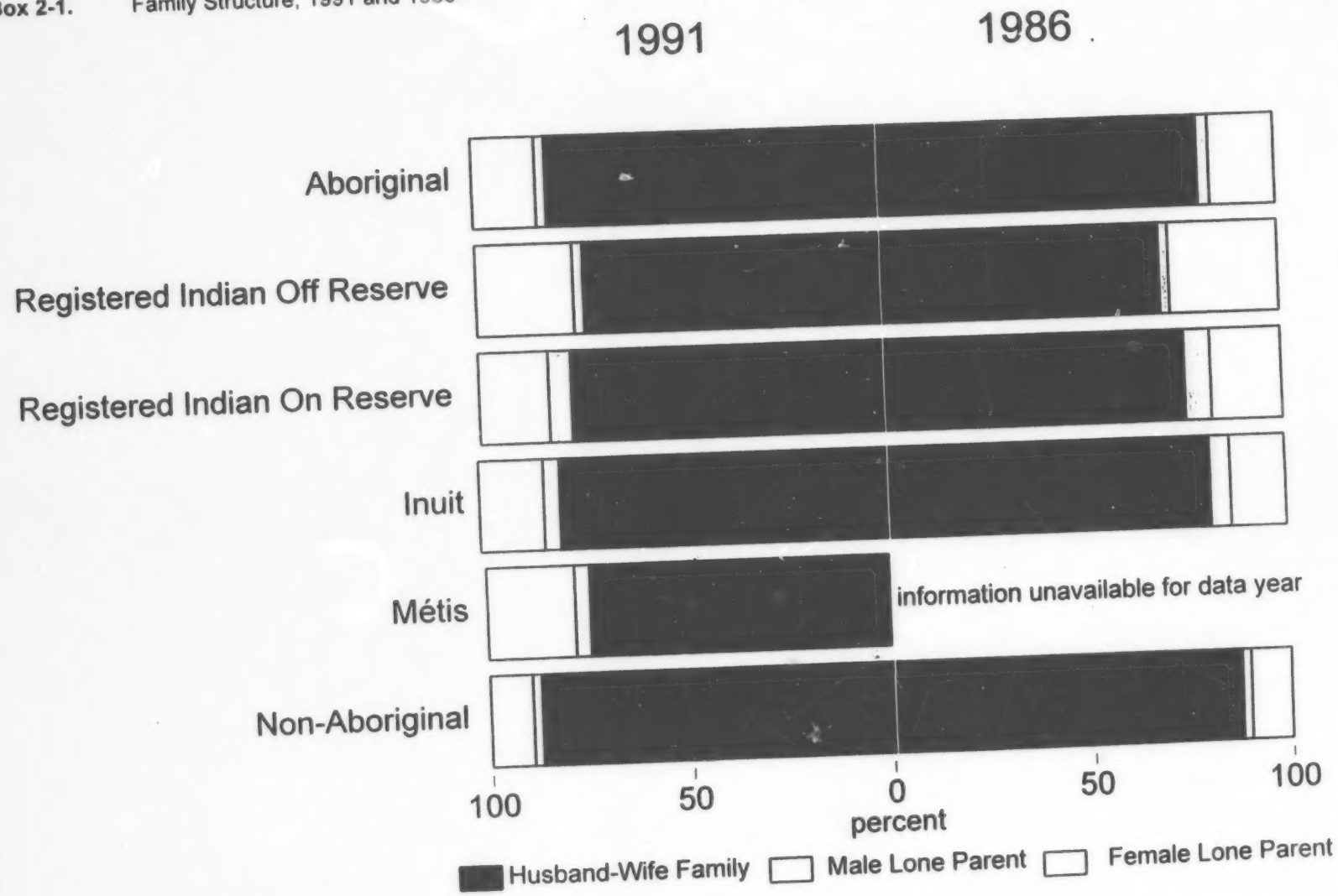
Registered Indian families living on reserve were headed by a lone-parent families in 22.8 percent of cases reported in 1991, down from the 24.4 percent rate reported in 1986. A female parent headed these families three-quarters of the time in 1991, a slightly higher proportion than in 1986. Interestingly, the remaining one-quarter of lone-parent families headed by males was the highest proportion reported for men in 1991. In 1986, almost one in three Indian families living on reserve was headed by a male parent.

Single parent families were most prevalent among ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** in both 1991 and 1986. In the more recent census year, 26.5 percent of off-reserve Indian families were headed by a lone-parent, down from the 29.9 percent rate in 1986. Females were the overwhelming household head in the lone-parent category, accounting for 90.6 percent of such families in 1991 (down from the 1986 rate of 93.2 percent).

Inuit families reported the lowest level of lone-parent families of any Aboriginal sub-group examined here, with a 1991 incidence of 19.9 percent. Still, the number of lone-parent families reported in the Inuit community in 1991 does represent a slight increase over the 1986 rate of 18.9 percent. Within Inuit lone-parent families in 1991, women constituted the head of the family 79.9 percent of cases. This rate represents a substantial increase over the 1986 figure of 73.4 percent.

In 1991, the basic structure of the ***Métis*** family was most akin to the pattern reported by Registered Indians living off reserve. Among the Métis, husband-wife families were reported 74.6 percent of the time, some 12.9 percentage points lower than the non-Aboriginal level. While 25.4 percent of Métis households were headed by a lone-parent in 1991, 85.4 percent of these were in turn headed by a female. In the same census year, this level was only exceeded by Registered Indian families living off reserve.

Box 2-1. Family Structure, 1991 and 1986



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulation

Mother Tongue, 1991 and 1986 (Table 2-2 and Box 2-2)

Spoken language can be described as an aspect of culture, an adaptation unique to humans. In human communities, the use of a common language whose meaning and perpetuation is demonstrably bounded in space tends to confirm the existence of a cultural hearth. While culture and language are inextricably linked, it is difficult to guess how one transforms the other. Despite the theoretical difficulties that abstractions like language and culture pose, various measures of cultural attachment are premised upon language use. In 1991 and 1986, the census sought specific information from Canadians about their ***mother tongue*** - the language that the individual was first taught and still employed in daily conversation.

In 1991, many languages were identified by Canadians as their mother tongue, with English and French constituting by far the two most prevalent language groups. Among Aboriginal people, the use of English and French has steadily increased in this century, largely at the expense of Amerindian languages pre-dating European contact by thousands of years. While concern for safeguarding Amerindian languages has increased in recent years, the 1991 Census reveals that their long-term survival is far from certain.

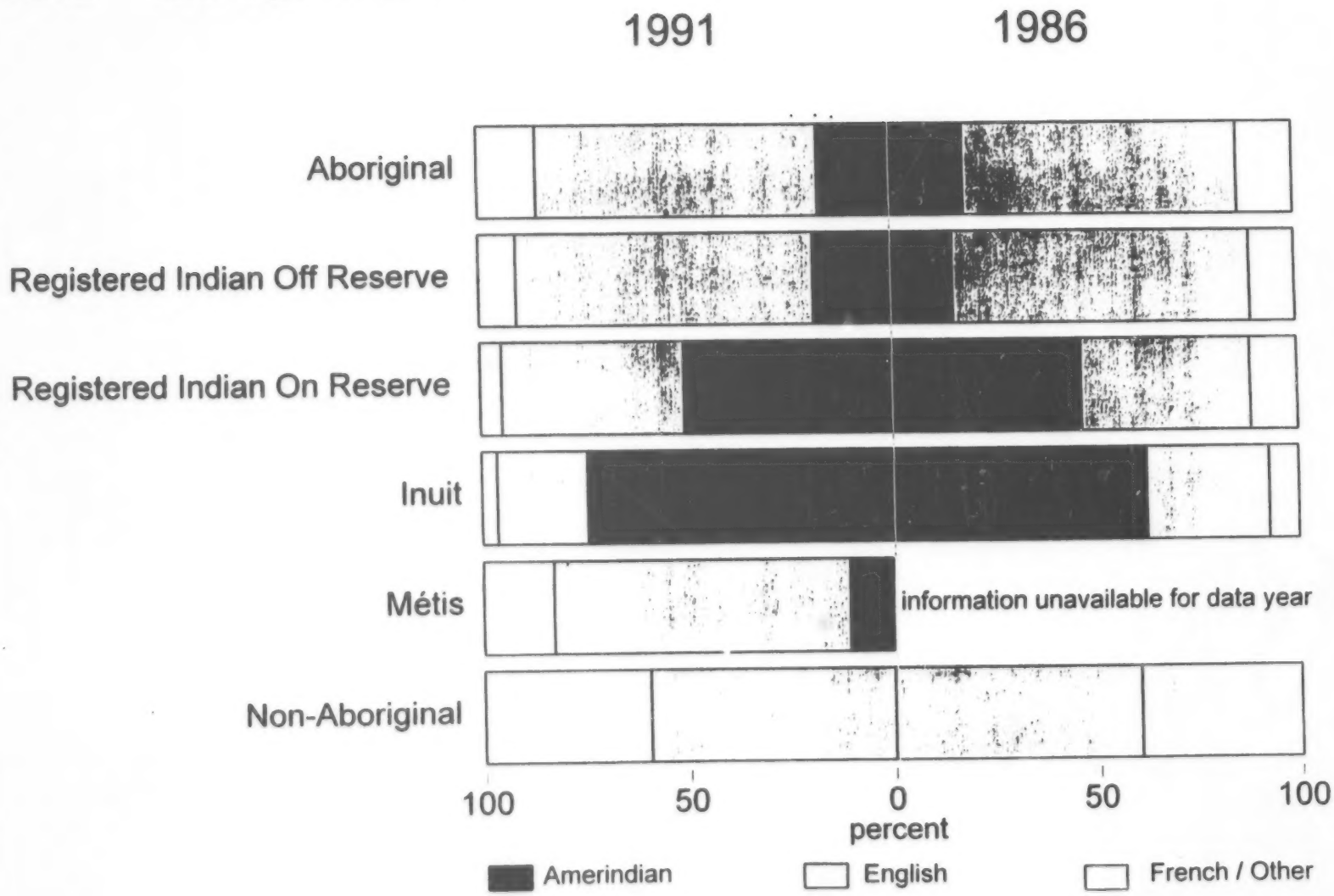
Table 2-2. Mother Tongue 1991, 1986

Census Year	Mother Tongue	Aboriginal	Registered Indian On Reserve	Registered Indian On Reserve	Inuit	Métis	Non-Aboriginal
				(Percent)			
1991	Amerindian	16.9	50.3	18.3	74.3	10.6	0.0
	English	68.8	44.5	72.6	22.0	72.3	59.6
	French/Other	14.3	5.2	9.1	3.7	17.1	40.5
	Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
1986	Amerindian	18.6	46.6	15.7	62.4	..	0.0
	English	67.6	41.9	73.2	30.2	..	60.4
	French/Other	13.8	11.6	11.1	7.3	..	39.6
	Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations 1991, 1986.
Note: Figures may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

In 1991, 16.9 percent of ***Aboriginal persons*** reported that their mother tongue was an Amerindian language, down from 18.6 percent in 1986 (Table 2-2 and Box 2-2). An Amerindian language as mother tongue was reported for 50.3 percent of ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** in 1991, up from 46.6 percent in 1986. In stark contrast to the on-reserve population, ***Registered Indians off reserve*** reported an Amerindian mother tongue in 18.3 percent of cases in 1991, up from 15.7 percent in 1986. ***Inuit*** persons indicated an Amerindian (Inuktitut) language as mother tongue in 74.3 percent of cases, up from 62.4 percent in 1986 and the highest level of Indigenous language use among any Aboriginal group examined in this study. Finally, among the Métis people 10.6 percent cited an Amerindian language as their mother tongue in 1991, the lowest level of any Aboriginal group examined here.

Box 2-2. Mother Tongue, 1991 and 1986



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulation

Self Identified Disability, 1991 and 1986 (Box 2-3)

In both 1991 and 1986, the census questionnaire collected basic information concerning ***individual disability***. While self-identified disabilities were probed in greater detail in the ***1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey***, the information collected from the census is nevertheless valuable.

Box 2-3 presents a graphical summary of responses to the disability question as posed in both 1991 and 1986. In general, approximately 9 out of every 10 individuals surveyed from both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population considered themselves to be free of any limiting disabilities, virtually unchanged from findings reported in the 1986 Census. Of the remaining 10 percent of the population that reported a limiting disability of some kind, most indicated that their disability was not so severe as to impose any long term limitations on their ability to engage in routine activities. As such, for all of the groups examined here, approximately 1 person in 100 declared that their disability limited their capacity to engage in routine tasks.

Importantly, none of the data presented here is age-standardized. Given the appearance of many disabling diseases in old age, the relatively young Aboriginal populations presented here do not yet exhibit the inevitable effects that aging has upon the overall health of a population. Therefore, direct comparisons between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population must be assessed realistically.

For the overall ***Aboriginal population***, the disability rate (consisting of those without long-term limitations and those who identified themselves as disabled and limited) was 9 percent in 1991, down slightly from the 9.1 percent level recorded in 1986. Of those persons declaring themselves disabled in 1991, just over 11 percent felt they were limited by their condition, almost unchanged from 1986.

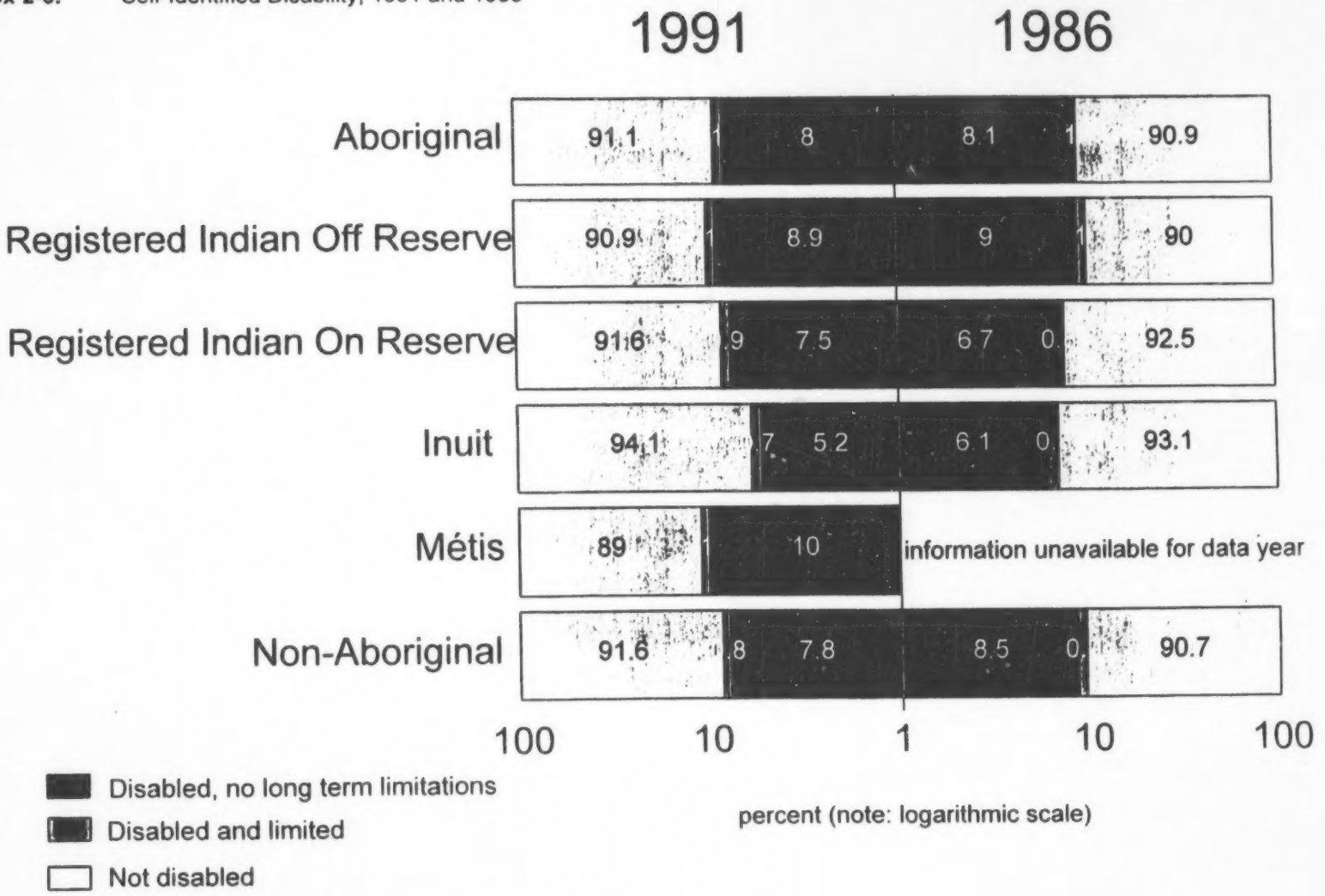
Registered Indians living on reserve reported disability rates that reflect their relative youthfulness. In 1991, 8.4 percent declared themselves disabled, up from 7.5 percent in 1986. Of those with disabilities, only 10 percent felt that their disability was limiting.

Registered Indians living off reserve reported a disability rate of 8.9 percent in 1991, down from 9 percent in 1986. In both census years, Indians off reserve reported higher disability rates than the non-Aboriginal population (about 1.3 percentage points higher in 1991 versus 0.6 percentage points higher in 1986). Still, only 1 percent of Indians off reserve indicated that their disability was limiting, a frequency that compares favourably to all of the other comparison groups.

Reflecting the youthful structure of their population, ***Inuit*** respondents declared themselves to be disabled in approximately 6 out of every 100 cases, the lowest level of any group examined. Among those Inuit with disabilities, 13.5 percent reported that their condition was limiting. In 1986, Inuit persons reported a disability rate of around 7 persons out of every 100, lower than the 1991 level. In part, this finding reflects the high birthrate and falling deathrate that typifies the Inuit population.

Finally, the ***Métis*** population reported the highest actual disability rate of all groups examined, with 11 percent declaring themselves disabled in 1991. In turn, around 9 percent of those declaring a disability characterized it as limiting. While the Métis population is not as youthful as other Aboriginal groups, it is less aged than the non-Aboriginal population. As such, the relatively high actual disability rate established for the Métis suggests that any age standardization procedure would reveal a significantly higher disability rate within the Métis community.

Box 2-3. Self-Identified Disability, 1991 and 1986



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulation

Highest Level of Schooling, 1991 and 1986 (Table 2-3 and Box 2-4)

As a measure of social equity, the variable '***highest level of schooling***' records the degree to which any given segment of the population succeeds in the educational system. Education represents a powerful tool that tends to equalize cultures through time. While class stratification is a basic feature of any industrial society, education permits individuals to overcome institutional barriers to economic and social success. In young and pluralistic societies like Canada, education offers a means by which individuals can change their economic and social horizons. In fact, what census data reveals for the Aboriginal population as a whole is that a strong and direct relationship exists between economic success and the duration of an individuals education (see Boxes 3-12 through 3-17).

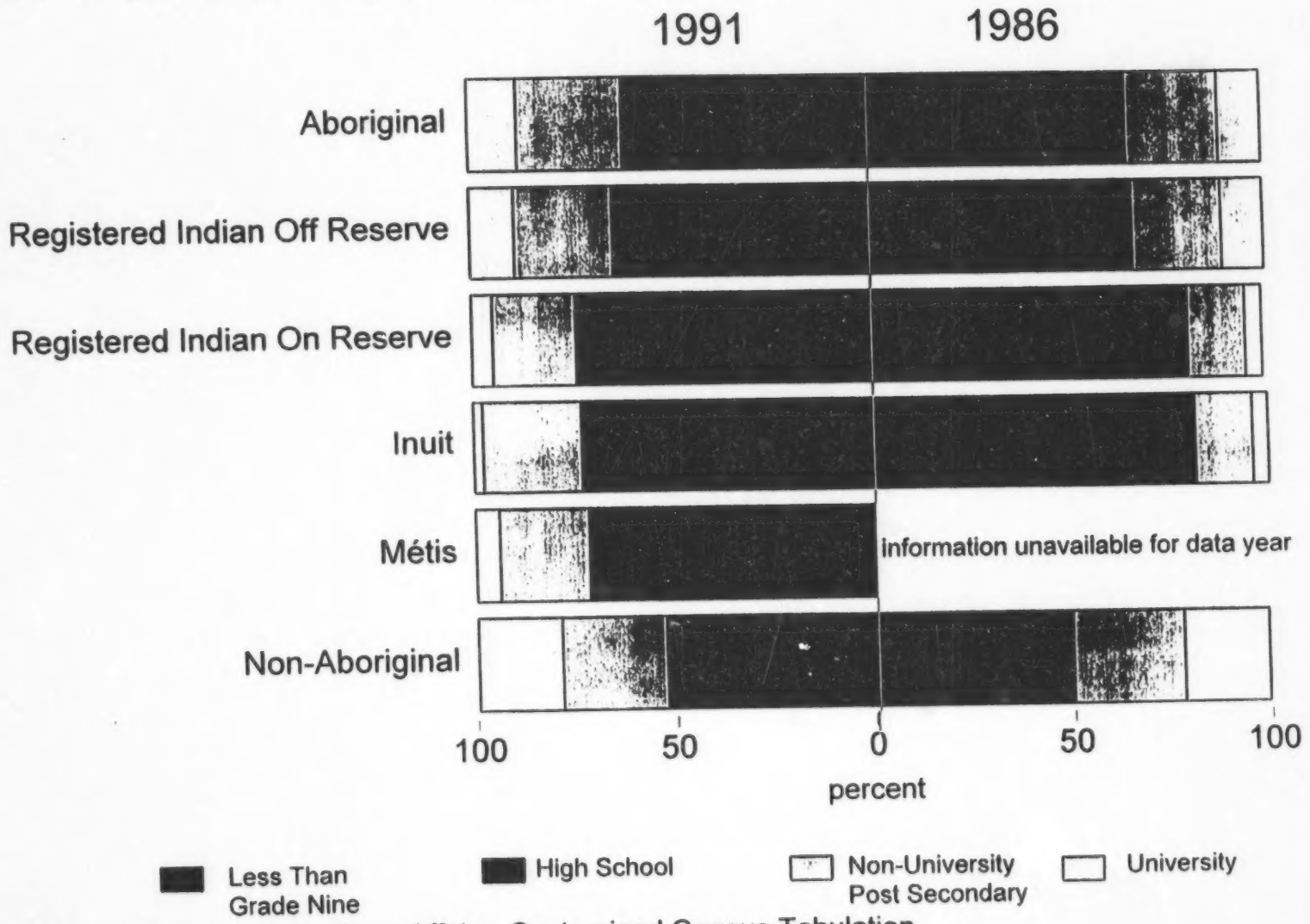
Table 2-3. Highest Level of Schooling, Graduates and Non-Graduates 1991, 1986

Census Year	Highest Level of Schooling	Aboriginal	Registered Indian On Reserve	Registered Indian Off Reserve	Inuit	Métis	Non-Aboriginal
1991	< Grade Nine	18.4	37.2	19.4	47.4	24.8	13.8
	High School	42.8	36.7	44.7	25.6	46.9	38.9
	Non-University	26.5	20.8	24.8	24.7	22.4	26.3
	University	12.3	5.2	11.1	2.3	5.9	21.0
	Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
1986	< Grade Nine	28.2	46.4	26.0	55.5	..	18.5
	High School	37.4	33.8	40.7	26.0	..	30.9
	Non-University	23.6	14.6	22.7	14.5	..	28.1
	University	10.8	4.2	10.6	3.9	..	21.4
	Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations 1991, 1986.
Note: Figures may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

In 1991, 42.8 percent of the ***Aboriginal population*** reported a high school level of education, up from 37.4 percent in 1986 (Table 2-3 and Box 2-4). Conversely, the proportion of Aboriginal persons with less than a grade nine education declined to 18.4 percent by 1991, while those with post-secondary experience increased to 38.7 percent. ***Registered Indians on reserve*** improved their high school exposure rate to 36.7 percent in 1991, up almost 3 percentage points from 1986. Significantly, the number of Indians on reserve with less than grade nine experience fell to 37.2 percent in 1991, while those with some university experience rose to 26 percent in 1991 (18.8 percent in 1986). Between 1986 and 1991, high school exposure rates for ***Registered Indians off reserve*** improved to 44.7 from 40.7 percent. The same group reported less than a grade nine education in only 19.4 percent of cases, down from 26 percent five years earlier. The proportion of Indians off reserve with post-secondary experience improved by 2.8 percentage points by 1991, rising to 35.9 percent. Among the ***Inuit***, the high school exposure rate remained near 26 percent in both census years, while those with less than grade nine increased to 47.4 percent by 1991 (37.6 percent in 1986). ***Métis*** persons with high school accounted for 46.9 percent of cases in 1991; 28.4 percent cited post-secondary training.

Box 2-4. Highest Level of Schooling, Graduates and Non-Graduates, 1991 and 1986



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulation

Dwellings: Period of Construction, 1991 and 1986 (Box 2-5)

In 1991 and 1986, the Census sought detailed information about the characteristics of dwellings in Canada. As such, one household in five answered basic questions devoted to assessing the physical integrity of their present dwelling. Additionally, information was gathered concerning the monthly or annual costs associated with living in the enumerated dwelling (size of mortgage payment, municipal taxes, rent paid, etc.). Clearly, the demand for more housing on reserve poses a continuing challenge to DIAND. Nevertheless, any assessment of the existing housing stock on reserve should be made relative to conditions prevailing in the rest of Canada. While Box 2-5 does not provide specific insight into the quality of the on-reserve housing stock, it does reveal that compared to other groups, homes provided to Registered Indians on reserve are of fairly recent vintage.[5]

For the **Aboriginal** population as a whole, in 1991 more than 50 percent of respondents indicated that their dwelling had been built since 1971. In fact, over 85 percent of all housing stock owned or rented by Aboriginal persons was described as having been built after 1945, with just 6.5 percent of dwellings pre-dating 1920. In 1986, 83.2 percent of respondents indicated living in dwellings that were built after 1945. Thus, the slight rise in numbers between 1986 and 1991 suggests that two processes are likely affecting Aboriginal housing dynamics. First, housing stock pre-dating 1946 is being replaced by the construction of new dwellings. Second, Aboriginal people are gaining access to newer housing stock through time. However, it is not possible to deduce from the data whether Aboriginal people are enjoying the benefits of new housing in a manner that is akin to the average Canadian experience.

Among **Registered Indians living on reserve**, the 1991 Census found that fully 97.1 percent resided in dwellings built after 1945, the highest level for any group examined in this study. Three-quarters of Indians on reserve indicated that their dwellings were built after 1971. This rate is substantially higher than either the Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal experience (51 percent and 46.1 percent, respectively). Discounting for the five year difference between census events, findings from 1991 still represent a substantial improvement over 1986, when 67 percent of respondents lived in dwellings built after 1945.

In 1991, 46.3 percent of **Registered Indians off reserve** reported living in dwellings that were built after 1971. Another 36.8 percent of Indians off reserve lived in dwellings constructed between 1946 and 190, while 17 percent indicated that their present dwelling was built prior to 1946 (the equivalent measure for Indian dwellings on reserve was 1.9 percent).

Among the **Inuit**, in 1991 nearly 70 percent indicated that their present dwelling was built after 1971. In 1986, 55.4 percent of Inuit respondents resided in a dwelling built after 1971. This finding suggests that a relatively large supply of new housing became available in northern communities between 1986 and 1991.

In 1991 **Métis** persons reported living in dwellings built after 1971 in 50 percent of cases. Reflecting a distribution similar to the non-Aboriginal population, 15.5 percent of Métis dwellings were built prior to 1946 (17.7 percent among non-Aboriginal persons). Finally, slightly more than one-third of Métis households indicated that their present dwelling was built between 1946 and 1970.

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[5] According to information maintained in DIAND's *Capital Assets Management System*, in the fiscal year 1994/95 only 8.1 percent of dwellings were in need of replacement, while 27.9 percent required minor renovations and 18.2 percent required major renovations.

Box 2-5. Dwellings: Period of Construction, 1991 and 1986

Ethnicity/ Period of Construction	Canada (%)				Canada On Reserve (%)				Canada Off Reserve (%)			
Aboriginal Households	'91 Actual	'91 Cum.	'86 Actual	'86 Cum.	'91 Actual	'91 Cum.	'86 Actual	'86 Cum.	'91 Actual	'91 Cum.	'86 Actual	'86 Cum.
1920 or before	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	1.0	1.0	1.6	1.6	7.2	7.2	7.4	4.0
1921-1945	9.4	15.8	10.2	16.8	1.9	2.9	3.4	5.0	10.4	17.6	11.4	15.5
1946-1960	15.6	31.5	17.6	34.4	5.7	8.7	9.2	14.2	16.9	34.5	19.1	34.5
1961-1970	17.6	49.1	18.8	53.2	14.6	23.2	18.9	33.1	18.0	52.5	18.8	53.3
1971-1980	26.5	75.5	33.2	86.4	26.7	49.9	38.4	71.6	26.4	79.0	32.3	85.7
1981-Most Rucent Census Event	24.5	100.0	13.6	100.0	50.1	100.0	28.4	100.0	21.1	100.0	11.0	100.0
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.1		100.0	
Registered Indian Households												
1920 or before	4.0	4.0	4.3	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.6	1.6	5.8	5.8	7.2	7.2
1921-1945	7.8	11.8	8.1	12.2	1.9	2.9	3.4	5.0	11.2	17.0	13.0	20.2
1946-1960	13.1	24.9	13.9	26.1	5.7	8.7	9.1	14.1	17.4	34.3	19.0	39.2
1961-1970	17.6	42.6	19.4	45.6	14.5	23.1	18.9	33.0	19.4	53.7	19.9	59.2
1971-1980	26.1	68.7	34.8	80.3	26.5	49.6	38.5	71.5	25.9	79.7	31.0	90.2
1981-Most Recent Census Event	31.3	100.0	19.4	99.7	50.3	100.0	28.5	100.0	20.4	100.0	9.8	100.0
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	
Inuit Households												
1920 or before	1.9	1.9	3	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	3.0	3.0
1921-1945	1.9	3.8	5.1	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	3.9	5.1	8.1
1946-1960	6.9	10.7	12.1	20.1	0.0	0.0	15.0	15.0	6.9	10.8	12.1	20.2
1961-1970	19.6	30.3	24.5	44.6	20.0	20.0	10.0	25.0	19.7	30.5	24.7	44.9
1971-1980	29.5	59.8	38.9	83.5	33.3	53.3	40.0	65.0	29.4	59.9	38.9	83.8
1981-Most Recent Census Event	40.1	99.9	16.5	100	26.7	100.0	35.0	100.0	40.2	100.0	16.2	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100	100	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	
Métis Households												
1920 or before	5.4	5.4	..	..	0.0	0.0	..	..	5.4	5.4	..	..
1921-1945	10.1	15.5	..	..	0.0	0.0	..	..	10.2	15.6	..	..
1946-1960	16.1	31.6	..	..	0.0	0.0	..	..	16.1	31.8	..	..
1961-1970	18.6	50.2	..	..	19.4	19.4	..	..	18.6	50.3	..	..
1971-1980	29.2	79.4	..	..	33.3	52.8	..	..	29.2	79.5	..	..
1981-Most Recent Census Event	20.6	100.0	..	..	41.6	100.0	..	..	20.5	100.0	..	..
	100.0		..		100.0		..		100.0		..	
Non-Aboriginal Households												
1920 or before	8.0	8.0	9.3	9.3	0.5	0.5	1.4	1.4	8.0	8.0	9.3	9.3
1921-1945	9.9	17.8	11.1	20.4	1.6	2.1	2.5	3.9	9.9	17.8	11.1	20.4
1946-1960	17.7	35.5	20.1	40.4	3.5	5.6	4.8	8.7	17.7	35.6	20.1	40.5
1961-1970	18.4	53.9	19.5	59.9	17.2	22.8	18.8	27.5	18.4	53.9	19.5	59.9
1971-1980	24.6	78.5	29.6	89.5	39.7	62.5	50.0	77.5	24.6	78.5	29.5	89.5
1981-Most Recent Census Event	21.5	100.0	10.5	100.0	37.5	100.0	22.5	100.0	21.5	100.0	10.5	100.0
	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs, Customized Census Tabulations

Note: Figures may not sum to 100 percent due to suppression and/or random rounding.

Number of Children, Marital Status
All Ethnicities, Females 15 Or More, 1991
(Boxes 2-6 through 2-11)

Boxes 2-6 through 2-11 present patterns of ***female fecundity*** and ***female marital status***. This information is included in this study to help establish the relationship between population dynamics and the characteristics of particular population subsets. While specific comparisons are drawn between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal females, it is conceded that family structures and rearing practices exhibit wide cultural variation in plural societies like Canada. Despite this truism, the examination of data flowing from the standard census definition of separation, divorce or legal marriage helps to illuminate the average circumstances of women.

By 1991; 69.7 percent of all ***Aboriginal females*** reported having at least one child (Box 2-6). By contrast, 53.3 percent of all non-Aboriginal females reported having at least one child in the same year (Box 2-7). Additionally, 5.9 percent of all Aboriginal women reported having seven or more children, double the level among non-Aboriginal females. Aboriginal women who were either ***married, legally divorced or separated*** in 1991 reported having more children than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. Almost 46 percent of legally married Aboriginal women reported having three or more children, compared to 36.8 percent of non-Aboriginal women. Among separated or divorced Aboriginal women, 46.7 percent reported having three or more children, versus a 31.7 percent non-Aboriginal rate.

In the all ages category, 49.4 percent of ***Registered Indian females living on reserve*** had three or more children, the highest rate recorded for the groups examined here (Box 2-8). Moreover, almost 15 percent of on-reserve females indicated that they had 7 or more children, while just 22.8 percent reported being childless. ***Legally divorced or separated*** Indian females on reserve indicated three or more children in 79 percent of all instances; 39 percent stated that they had seven or more children. ***Married*** Indian women on reserve had three or more children in 71.9 percent of cases.

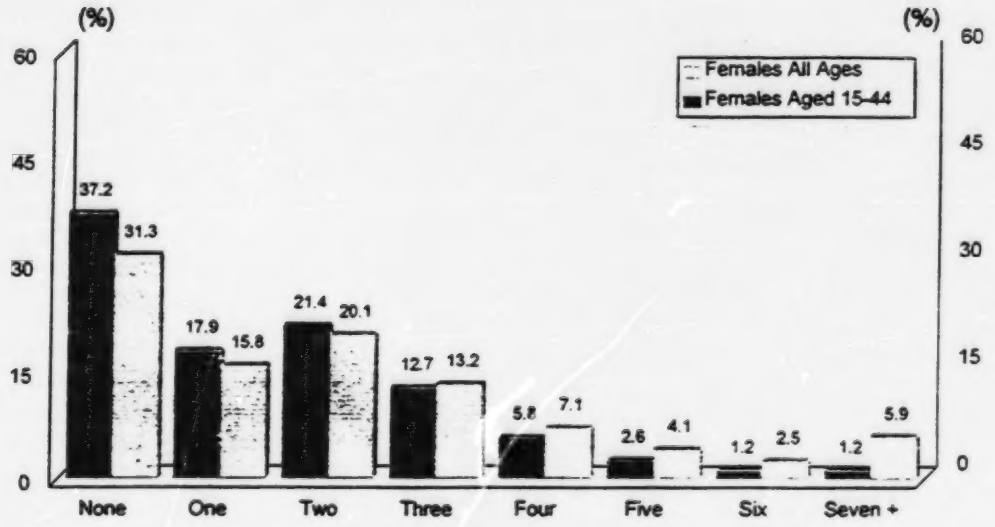
Collectively, ***Registered Indian females living off reserve*** reported being childless in 26.8 percent of cases in 1991, almost 20 percentage points lower than the rate for non-Aboriginal women (Box 2-9). Strikingly, 37.2 percent of Indian females off reserve reported having three or more children in 1991, substantially higher than the non-Aboriginal rate (32.8 percent). Indian females who were ***married, legally divorced or separated*** in 1991 reported having more children than Aboriginal women as a whole. As such, 50.4 percent of married women had three or more children, some 4.5 percentage points higher than among Aboriginal females. Divorced or separated females reported three or more children in 63.9 percent of cases, a rate bettered only by Indian females on reserve.

In 1991, ***Inuit*** females aged 15 or more related having three or more children in 46.4 percent of all instances (Box 2-10). Within this group, nearly half stated that they had seven or more children. Separated or divorced women indicated that they had three or more children in 55.2 percent of cases, while 72.6 percent of legally married females Inuit women stated having three or more children.

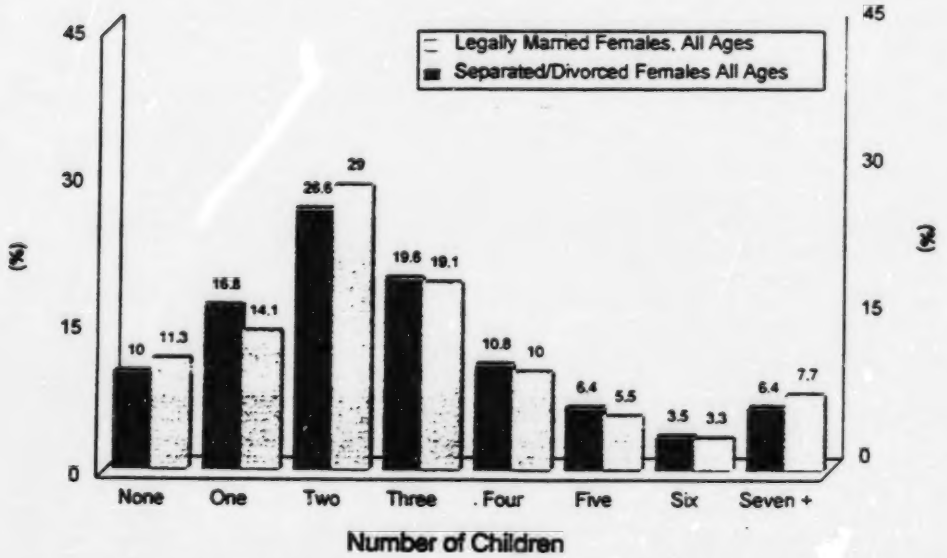
Among ***Métis*** females in 1991, 40.1 percent indicated that they had three or more children. Separated or legally divorced females reported three or more children in 58.6 percent of instances, with 9.5 percent of respondents stating that they had seven or more children (Box 2-11). Just under 60 percent of legally married Métis females reported three or more children in 1991, while 10.5 percent claimed to have seven or more children in the same year.

Box 2-6. Number of Children, Marital Status Aboriginal Females 15 Or More, 1991

Aboriginal Females, Number of Children



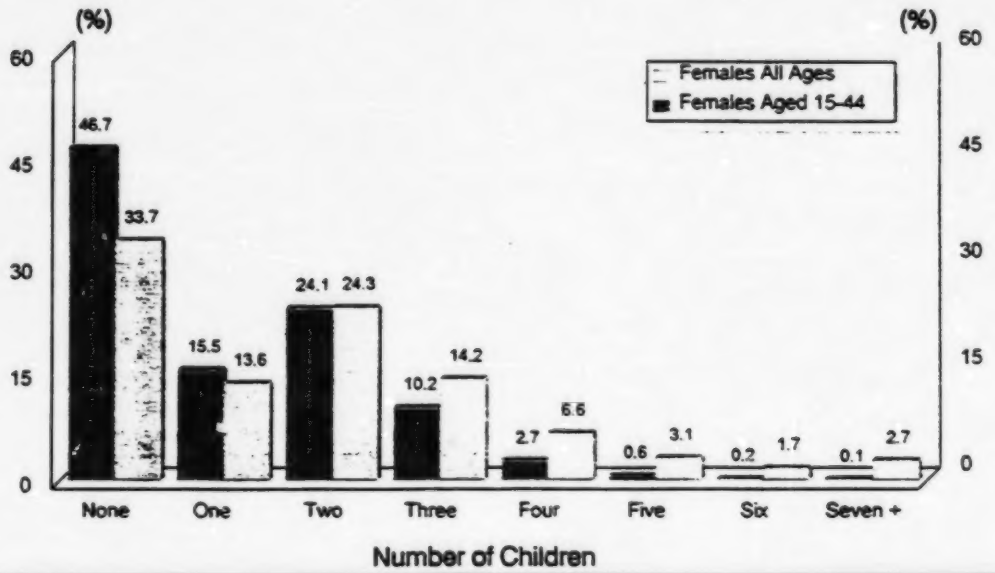
Aboriginal Females, Number of Children Separated or Divorced Versus Legally Married



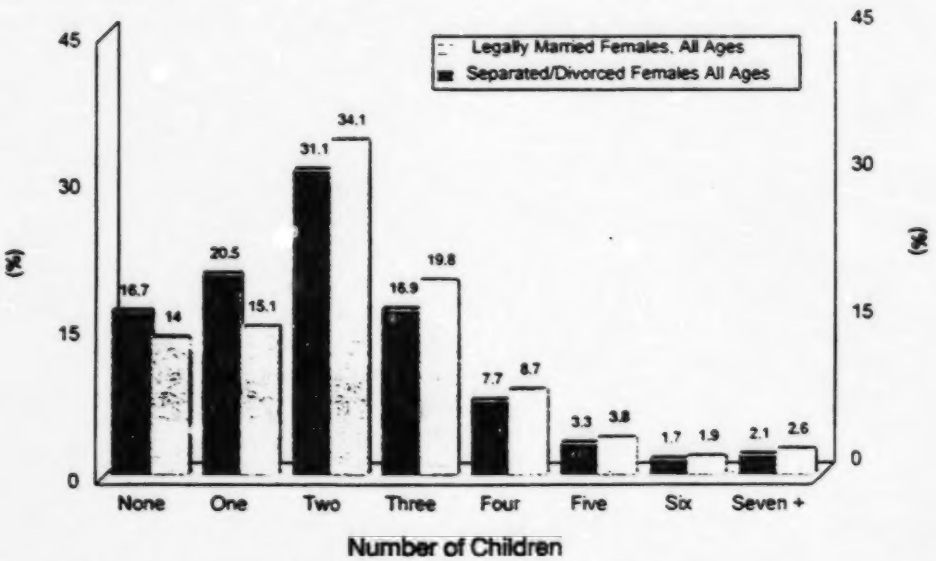
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 2-7. Number of Children, Marital Status Non-Aboriginal Females 15 Or More, 1991

Non-Aboriginal Females, Number of Children



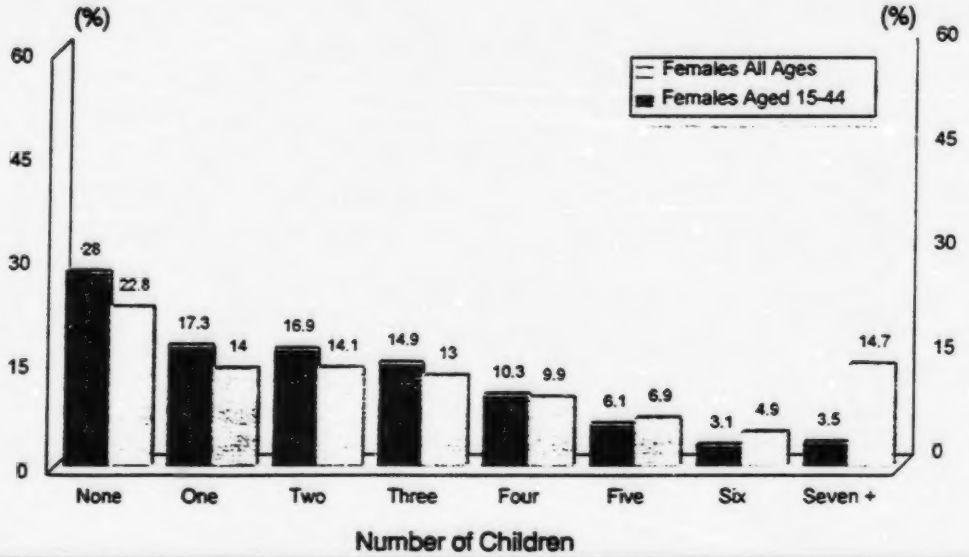
Non Aboriginal Females, Number of Children Separated or Divorced Versus Legally Married



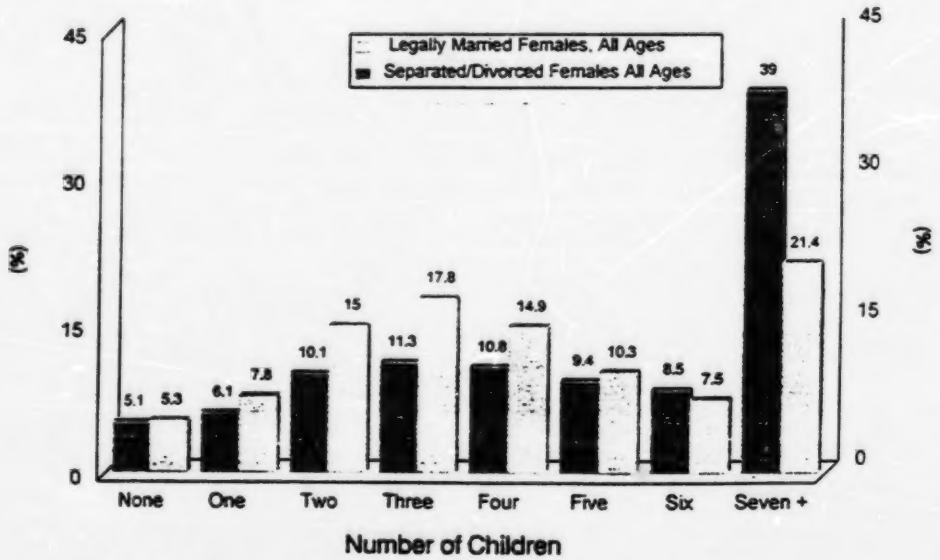
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Customized Census Tabulations

Box 2-8. Number of Children, Marital Status Registered Indian Females On Reserve 15 Or More, 1991

Registered Indian Females On Reserve, Number of Children



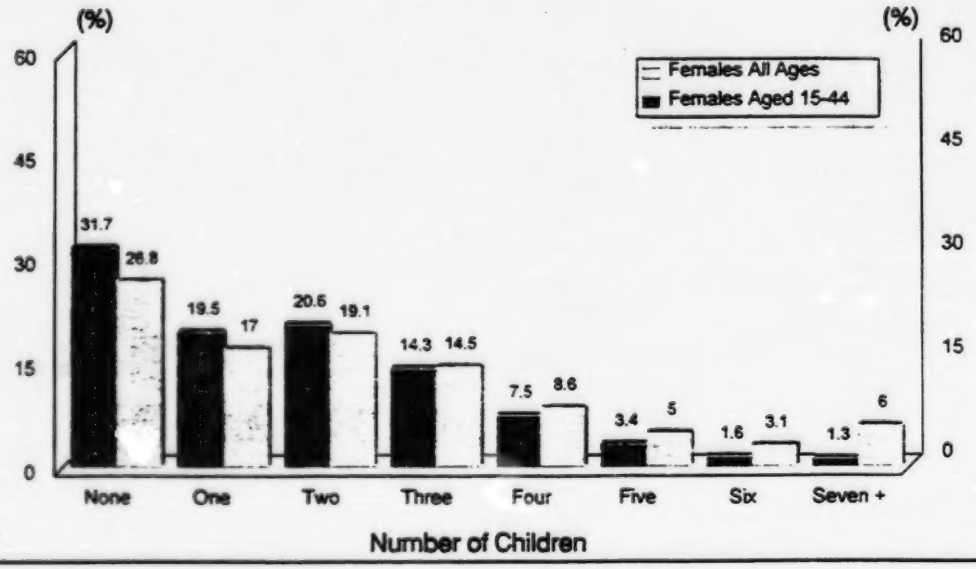
Registered Indian Females On Reserve, Number of Children Separated or Divorced Versus Legally Married



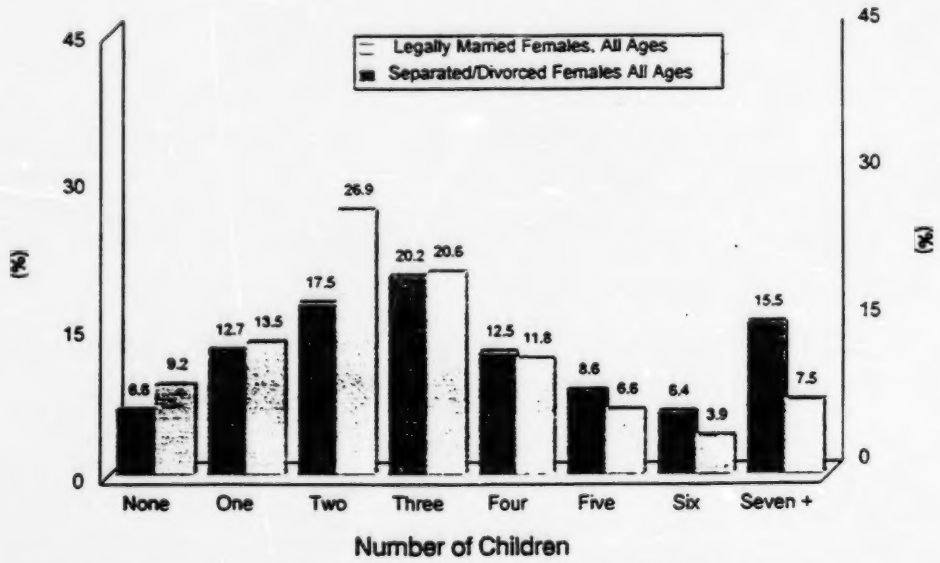
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 2-9. Number of Children, Marital Status Registered Indian Females Off Reserve 15 Or More, 1991

Registered Indian Females Off Reserve, Number of Children



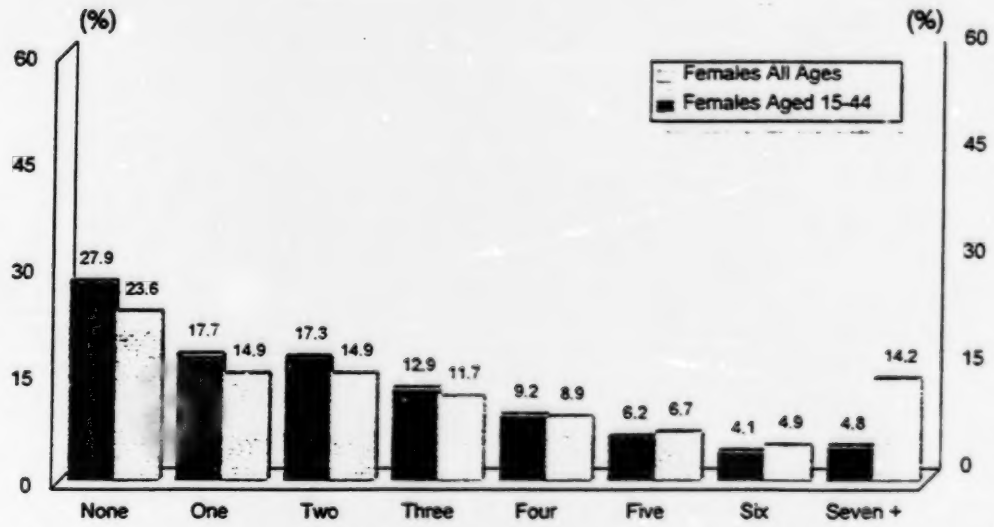
Registered Indian Females Off Reserve, Number of Children Separated or Divorced Versus Legally Married



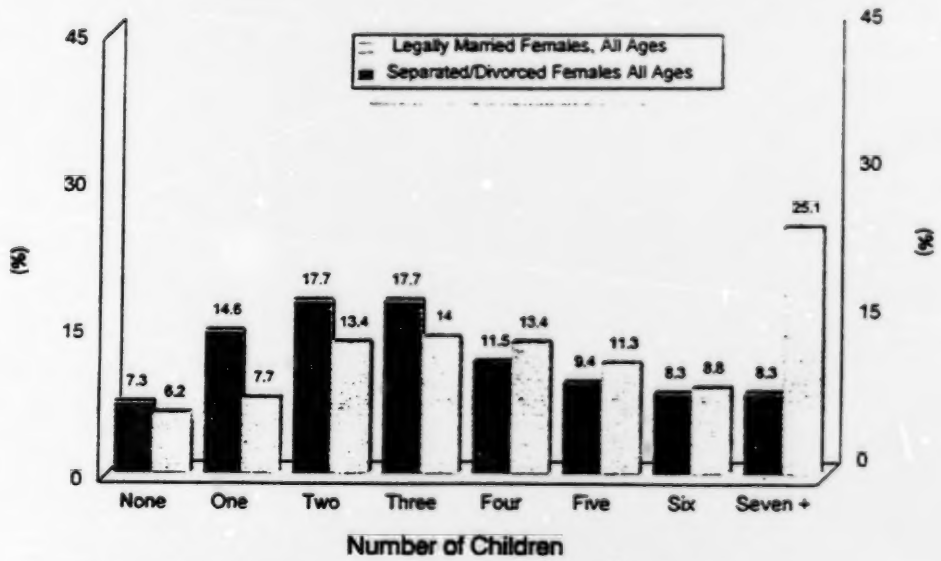
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 2-10. Number of Children, Marital Status Inuit Females 15 Or More, 1991

Inuit Females, Number of Children



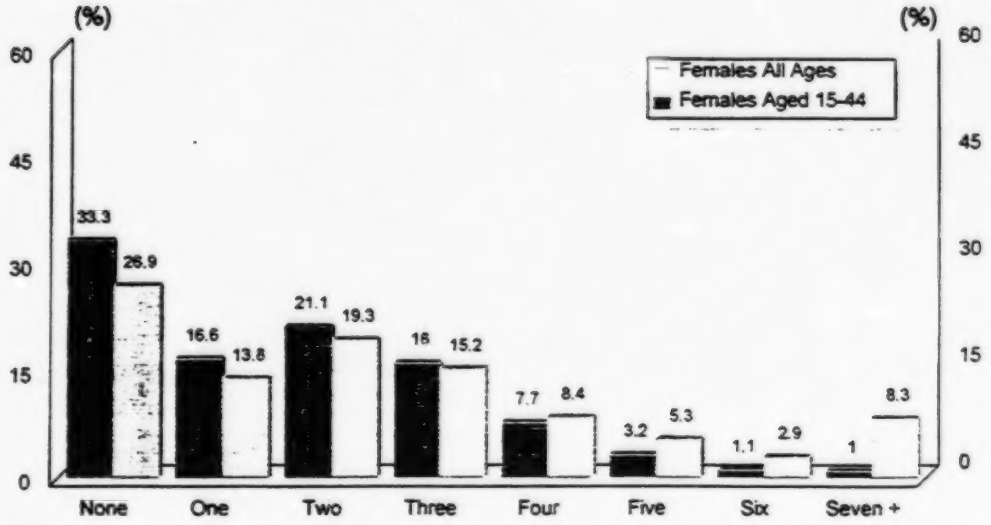
Inuit Females, Number of Children Separated or Divorced Versus Legally Married



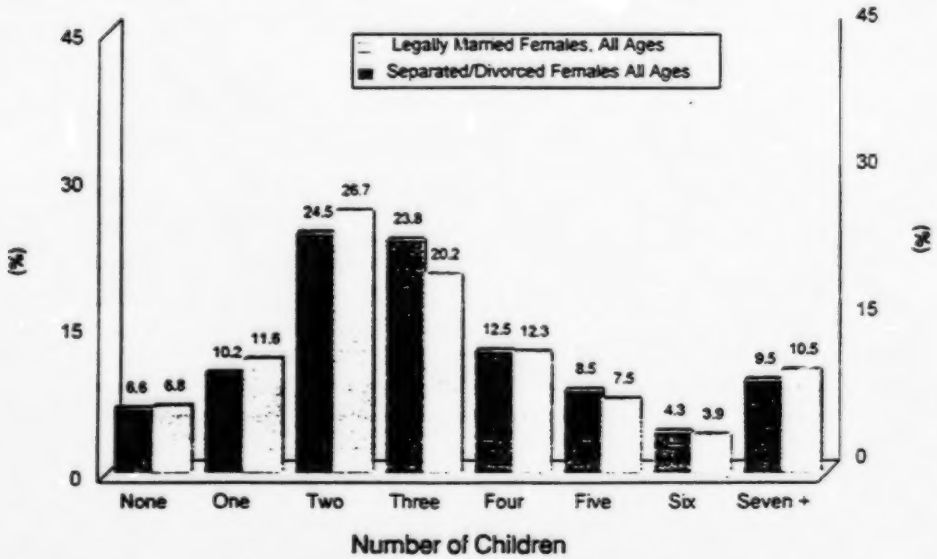
Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

Box 2-11. Number of Children, Marital Status Métis Females 15 Or More, 1991

Métis Females, Number of Children



Métis Females, Number of Children
Separated or Divorced Versus Legally Married



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

3. ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

General Economic Characteristics
Labour Force Activity (Box 3-1 and 3-2)

Labour force activity is a general term that subsumes the three basic conditions of individual attachment to the labour force. For individuals aged 15 or more, these three states are confined to those who are either ***employed***, ***unemployed***, or ***not in the labour force***. The ***employment and unemployment rates*** are both calculated by expressing the number employed or unemployed as a percentage of the total labour force. It should be noted that, conceptually, the employment rate is *distinct* from the employment/population ratio, in that the latter expresses the number of employed as a percentage of the total population aged 15 or more. Finally, the number of individuals who are ***not in the labour force*** is expressed as a percentage of the total population aged 15 or more.

In 1991, the reported rate of non-participation of ***Aboriginal persons*** in the labour force (35.7 percent) was similar to the experience of non-Aboriginal persons (31.9 percent). A greater discrepancy between Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal persons occurred for the employed labour force, where a 9.5 percentage point gap separated the two groups in 1991. While an employment rate of 80.6 percent seems comparatively good, the flip side of the employment equation is more revealing. Thus, the reality of an unemployment rate of 19.4 percent for Aboriginal persons in 1991 is almost double the rate recorded in the same year for non-Aboriginal persons. Again, the relevance of applying a concept like unemployment to an Aboriginal population introduces the possibility of ethnocentric bias.[1] However, in every instance, measures of Aboriginal labour force activity improved between 1986 and 1991.

According to the 1991 Census, among ***Registered Indians living on reserve***, more than one-half (53.2 percent) of the population aged 15 or more indicated that they were not in the labour force. Among on-reserve Registered Indians who were in the labour force (46.8 percent of the Registered on reserve population), 69 percent were employed in 1991, while 31 percent were unemployed. As such, the unemployment rate for Indians on reserve was the worst for any group examined here.

The labour force experiences of ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** were much worse than those reported for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians in 1991 and 1986. In 1991, off-reserve Indians not in the labour force were 42.7 percent of the population aged 15 or more, some 7 to 10 percentage points higher than the rates reported by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons. Within the labour force, 1991 unemployment rates were two and one-half times the rate among non-Aboriginal persons.

Inuit participation in the labour force was most akin to Métis and off-reserve Registered Indian experiences in 1991, with 43.5 percent of the eligible population not in the labour force (a decline of 2 percent from 1986). The employment rate among the Inuit improved to 76.2 percent in 1991, up from 73.6 percent in 1986. At 23.8 percent, Inuit unemployment in 1991 was lower than the Indian rate both on and off reserve, and represented a 2.6 percent improvement over the 1986 rate. Among the ***Métis***, four out of every 10 people aged 15 or more were not in the labour force in 1991.[2] Within the labour force, employment rates stood at 74.7 percent, while unemployment affected one in four workers.

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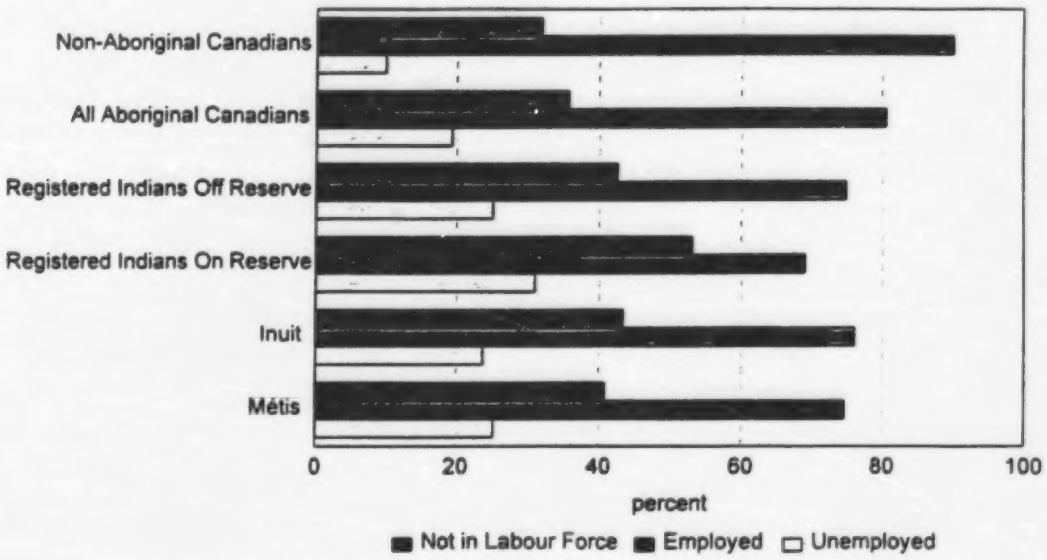
1 For an excellent discussion, see Statistics Canada. Canada's Native People. Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984. Catalogue number 99-937.

2 Throughout this study, comparable figures for the Métis population are not provided for 1986, owing to the non-inclusion of Métis ancestry as an ethnicity choice in that census year.

Box 3-1. Labour Force Activity, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	Not in Labour Force[2,4]	Employment Rate[3,4]	Unemployment Rate[3,4]
		(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	31.9	90.1	9.9
All Aboriginal Canadians	35.7	80.6	19.4
Registered Indians Off Reserve	42.7	74.9	25.1
Registered Indians On Reserve	53.2	69.0	31.0
Inuit	43.5	76.2	23.8
Métis	40.9	74.7	25.3



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

1 For a detailed discussion, see page 89.

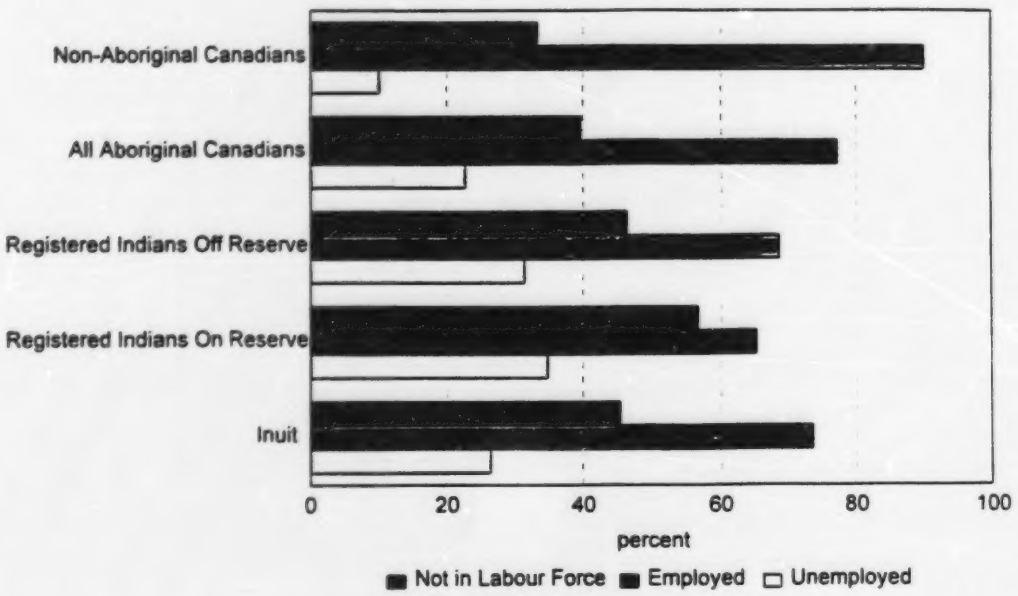
2 The number of individuals who are not in the labour force is expressed as a percentage of the total population aged 15 or more.

3 The employment and unemployment rates are both calculated by expressing the number employed or unemployed as a percentage of the total labour force.

4 Figures presented in Box 3-1 will not sum to 100 percent as they are measures of mutually exclusive events.

Box 3-2. Labour Force Activity, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	Not in Labour Force[2,4]	Employment Rate[3,4]	Unemployment Rate[3,4]
		(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	33.4	89.9	10.1
All Aboriginal Canadians	39.7	77.3	22.7
Registered Indians Off Reserve	46.4	68.6	31.4
Registered Indians On Reserve	56.7	65.2	34.8
Inuit	45.5	73.6	26.4
Métis	..	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

1 For a detailed discussion, see page 89.
2 The number of individuals who are not in the labour force is expressed as a percentage of the total population aged 15 or more.
3 The employment and unemployment rates are both calculated by expressing the number employed or unemployed as a percentage of the total labour force.
4 Figures presented in Box 3-1 will not sum to 100 percent as they are measures of mutually exclusive events.

General Economic Characteristics
Industry Group (Box 3-3 and 3-4)

Boxes 3-3 and 3-4 divide the economy into three broad industry segments: ***primary*** (resource-based), ***secondary*** (manufacturing) and ***tertiary*** (services). The industry segments are derived from the 1980 Standard Industrial Classification, which segregates industrial sectors according to the nature of their output. In this study, the proportion of the employed labour force attached to each sector is presented.

The distribution of employment according to industrial group has several uses as an economic indicator. It can be used to measure productivity, monitor industry or labour force change, or gain insight into the structure of regional economies. Here, it reveals the degree to which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups rely on the three industry segments for employment.

In 1991, four-fifths (81.8 percent) of the ***Aboriginal*** labour force was employed within the tertiary sector, slightly higher than the non-Aboriginal rate (79.2 percent) and 2.7 percent higher than in 1986. Tertiary sector gains in Aboriginal employment were matched by declines in both the primary and secondary sectors, down 1.7 and 1.1 percent respectively, from 1986. In general, the occupational structure of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal labour force was similar in both 1991 and 1986. However, the greater tertiary orientation in the Aboriginal labour force does suggest an economy that is more typical of Canada's hinterland regions.

In both 1991 and 1986, ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** relied on the tertiary sector for employment to a greater degree than most of the groups presented in Boxes 3-3 and 3-4. In 1991, 83.5 percent of employed Indians on reserve were engaged in tertiary activity. Given the spatial concentration of Canada's manufacturing belt in the Windsor-Montreal corridor, most reserves are poorly suited to secondary sector participation. In 1991, only 5.4 percent of Indians on reserve worked in the secondary sector (down from 7.3 percent in 1986). This reality was matched by relatively high levels of primary employment (11.1 percent 1991, 16.9 percent 1986).

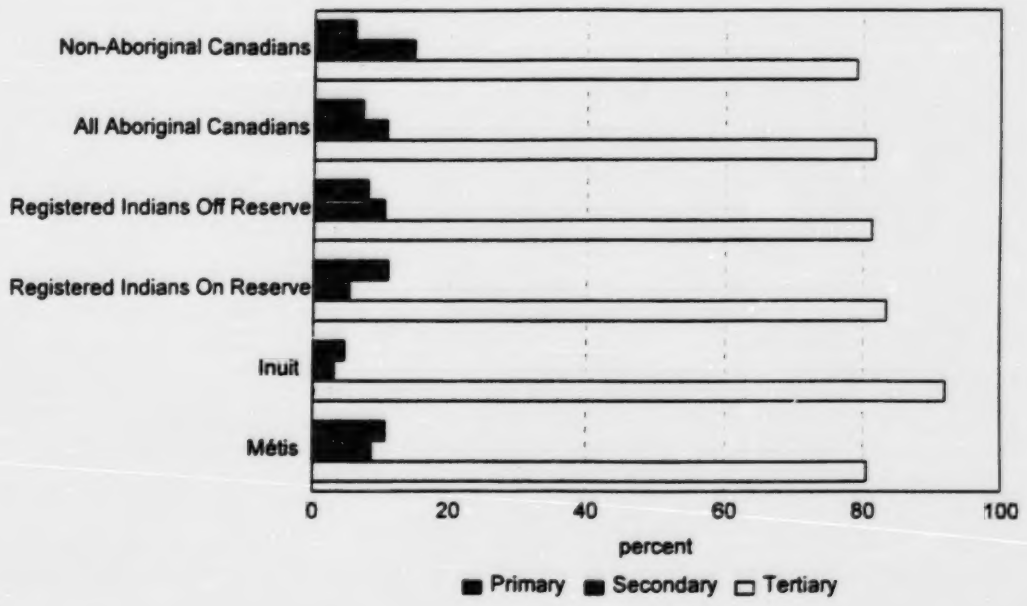
According to the 1991 Census, ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** experienced higher rates of primary sector employment (8.1 percent) than Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal persons. In the same year, secondary sector employment was slightly lower than the rate for Aboriginal persons (10.5 versus 10.8 percent) and 4.3 percent lower than the experience reported by the non-Aboriginal population. The proportion of Indians living off reserve employed in the primary and secondary sectors fell to 18.6 percent in 1991, down from 23.1 percent in 1986. This decline was offset by an increase in tertiary sector employment to 81.4 percent in 1991, up from 77 percent in 1986.

Inuit people were overwhelmingly engaged in tertiary sector activity in both 1991 (92 percent) and 1986 (84.4 percent). This reality is almost entirely a function of the remoteness of Northern communities, and the inability of such regions to sustain secondary and primary sector employment through time. In 1991, 7.9 percent of employed Inuit were engaged in primary and secondary activity, a marked decline from the 15.6 percent level reported in 1986.

Finally, ***Métis*** employment patterns closely parallelled non-Aboriginal levels in the tertiary sector (80.5 percent in 1991). The primary sector accounted for 10.7 percent of Métis employment (4.6 percent higher than non-Aboriginal levels), while the secondary sector accounted for just 8.7 percent of employment (6.1 percent less than the non-Aboriginal level).

Box 3-3. Industry Group, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
		(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	6.1	14.8	79.2
All Aboriginal Canadians	7.3	10.8	81.8
Registered Indians Off Reserve	8.1	10.5	81.4
Registered Indians On Reserve	11.1	5.4	83.5
Inuit	4.7	3.2	92.0
Métis	10.7	8.7	80.5

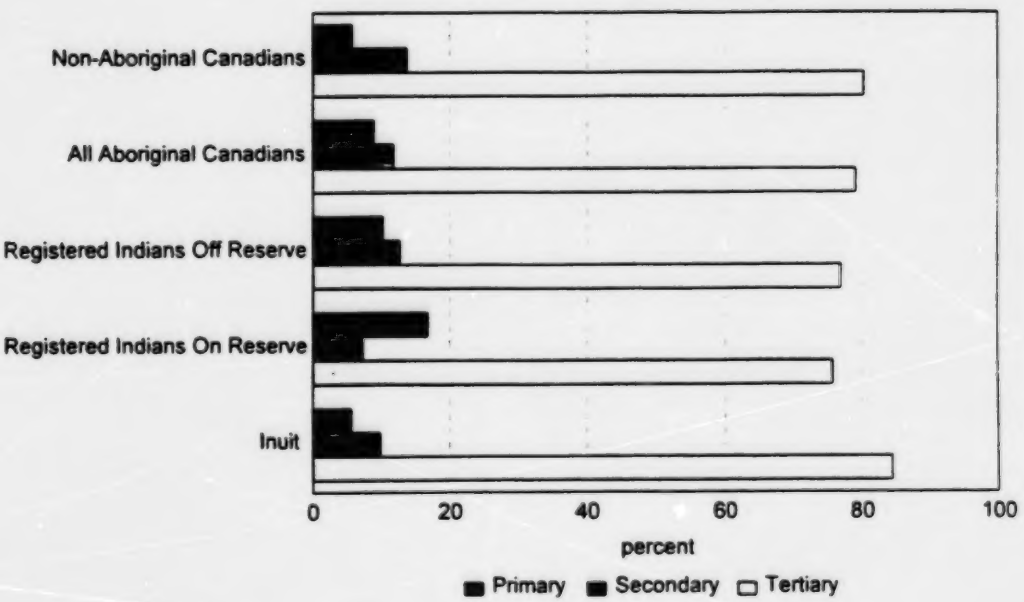


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

1 For a detailed discussion, see page 93.

Box 3-4. Industry Group, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
		(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	5.8	13.9	80.3
All Aboriginal Canadians	9.0	11.9	79.1
Registered Indians Off Reserve	10.3	12.8	77.0
Registered Indians On Reserve	16.9	7.3	75.8
Inuit	5.7	9.9	84.4
Métis	..	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

1 For a detailed discussion, see page 93.

General Economic Characteristics
Income Composition (Box 3-5 and 3-6)

As an indicator, ***income composition*** provides a direct measure of dependence by a group or region on non-employment income. It is calculated by expressing the relative share of each income source as a percentage of aggregate income. Where significant differences are noted in the relative share of the four income sources between groups or regions, it is possible to pursue more detailed analysis aimed at uncovering the causes of such discrepancies. Boxes 3-5 and 3-6 subsume the full range of formal sources of income into four broad groups, namely income derived from employment, government transfer payments, investments, or other sources.

In 1991, for every Aboriginal group examined in this study employment income as a percentage of total income was lower than the rate reported by the non-Aboriginal population. For all ***Aboriginal groups***, 59 percent of total income was derived from employment, 6.1 percent lower than the level reported for non-Aboriginal persons. This is a marked improvement over 1986 levels, when 52.5 percent of total Aboriginal income was generated by employment. Government income levels remained almost unchanged over the same period (1991 24.3 percent, 1986 25.2 percent), while other sources accounted for 5.1 percent of total income in 1991 (up from 2.7 percent in 1986). Between 1986 and 1991, the number of Aboriginal persons reporting no income fell to 11.7 from 19.2 percent.

For ***Registered Indians living on reserve***, employment income constituted a very low proportion of total income in both 1991 (38.7 percent) and 1986 (36.7 percent). In each year, the largest share of total income for Indians on reserve was attributed to government income. Along with the Inuit, Indians on reserve were the only group to experience a relative increase in government income as a component of total income between 1986 and 1991. By 1991, 40.1 percent of total income came from government payments, up from 36.9 percent in 1986. Other income sources rose to 10.9 percent in 1991 from 2.7 percent in 1986. Notably, the number of on-reserve Indians with no income fell to 10.2 percent in 1991 from 23.7 percent in 1986.

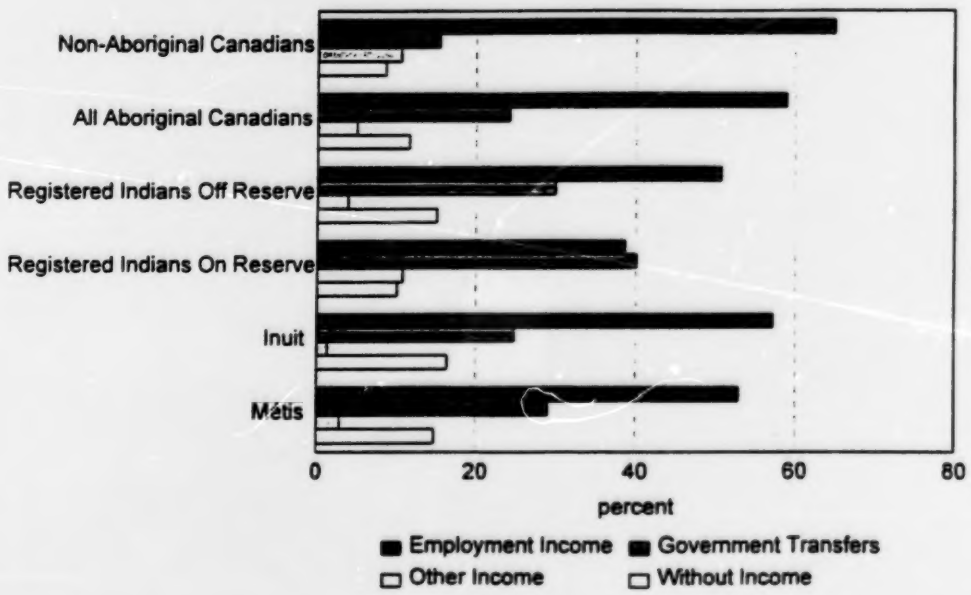
Among ***Registered Indians off reserve***, 50.7 percent of total income was derived from employment in 1991, up from 43.1 percent in 1986. Government income accounted for roughly one-third of Indian income off reserve (30.1 percent), down slightly from 31.8 percent in 1986. In both census years, other income represented a small share of total income for off-reserve Indians; 4 percent in 1991 versus 2.7 percent in 1986.

In both 1991 and 1986, ***Inuit*** income composition was similar to other Aboriginal groups. Employment income comprised 57.3 percent of total income in 1991 (53.5 percent in 1986). Government income accounted for another 24.9 percent in 1991 (19.6 percent in 1986), 1.6 times the rate for non-Aboriginal persons. Notably, the difference between Inuit and non-Aboriginal dependence on government transfers as a source of income was only 2.7 percent in 1986, but had increased to 9.4 percent by 1991. Other income remained almost undetectable in both years, while Inuit without income fell to 16.5 percent in 1991 from 25.5 percent in 1986.

In 1991, 52.9 percent of ***Métis*** income stemmed from employment (12.2 percent lower than the level for non-Aboriginal persons) while another 29.2 percent accrued from government transfers. Other income accounted for 3 percent of the total, while 14.9 percent reported no income, a level comparable to the experiences of Registered Indians living on reserve.

Box 3-5. Income Composition, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	Employment Income	Government Income	Other Income	Without Income
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	65.1	15.5	10.7	8.7
All Aboriginal Canadians	59.0	24.3	5.1	11.7
Registered Indians Off Reserve	50.7	30.1	4.0	15.2
Registered Indians On Reserve	38.7	40.1	10.9	10.2
Inuit	57.3	24.9	1.4	16.5
Métis	52.9	29.2	3.0	14.9

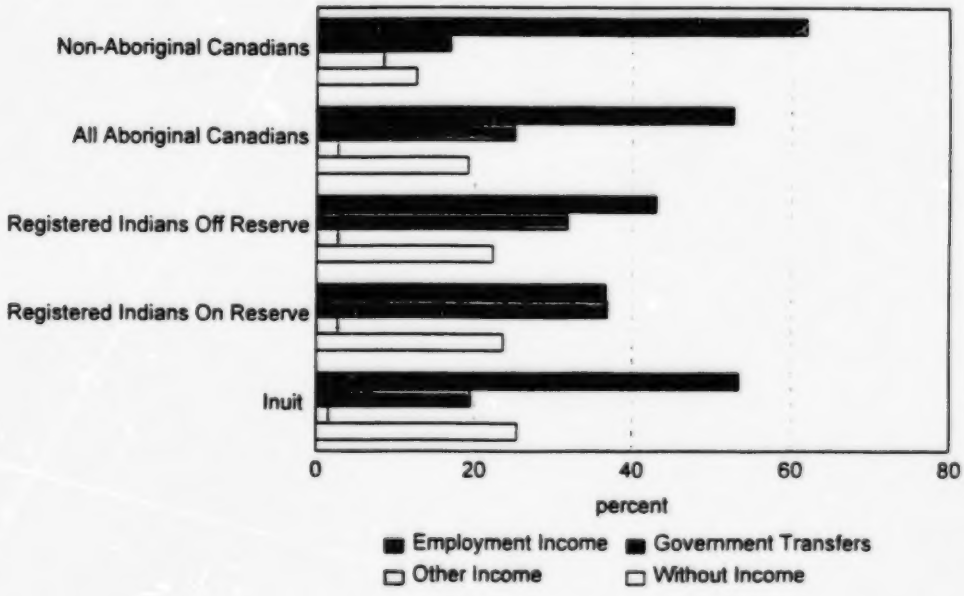


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see pages 97 and 101.

Box 3-6. Income Composition, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	Employment Income	Government Income	Other Income	Without Income
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	62.0	16.9	8.5	12.6
All Aboriginal Canadians	52.8	25.2	2.7	19.2
Registered Indians Off Reserve	43.1	31.8	2.7	22.4
Registered Indians On Reserve	36.7	36.9	2.7	23.7
Inuit	53.5	19.6	1.6	25.5
Métis	..	..	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 97 and 101.

General Economic Characteristics
Persons with Income (Box 3-7)

As the term is used in this analysis, ***persons with income*** refers to any individual aged 15 or more who received income in 1990 and 1985 from one or more of the main income streams identified in Boxes 3-5 and 3-6. As the reciprocal rate of persons without income, this indicator allows for the simple portrayal of valuable information embedded in Boxes 3-5 and 3-6.

While income from employment, government and other sources succinctly conveys the full spectrum of potential income sources, it obscures the range of possible income sources which individuals rely upon to make a living. To be considered a person with no formal income in either 1991 or 1986, an individual would have to report not having received money from any of the following sources.[3, 4]

Employment Income
Wages and Salaries
Net non-farm self employment
Net farm self-employment

Government Income
Family Allowances
Federal Child Tax Credits
Old Age Security
Guaranteed Income Supplement
Canada or Quebec Pension Plan
Unemployment Insurance

Other Income
Interest and dividends
Other investment income
Retirement pensions, superannuation, annuities
Other money income

In 1990, 88.3 percent of ***Aboriginal persons*** reported income, up from 80.8 percent in 1985. This compared to rates for non-Aboriginal persons of 91.3 percent in 1990 and 87.4 percent in 1985. Between 1990 and 1985, the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal "persons with income" gap fell 4.5 percent.

Specifically, the number of ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** "with income" rose to 89.8 percent in 1990 from 76.3 percent in 1985. In fact, the difference in reported "with income" rates between Registered Indians on reserve and the non-Aboriginal population fell to just 1.5 percent in 1990 from 11.1 percent in 1985. Among ***Registered Indians living off-reserve***, the number reporting income in 1990 rose to 84.8 percent, up from 77.6 percent in 1985.

Among the ***Inuit***, those reporting income in 1990 amounted to 83.5 percent of the eligible population, up from 74.5 percent in 1985.

Finally, for the ***Métis*** population, the reported rate of income receipt was 85.1 percent for 1990, 6.2 percent lower than for non-Aboriginals and 3.2 percent lower than the Aboriginal rate.

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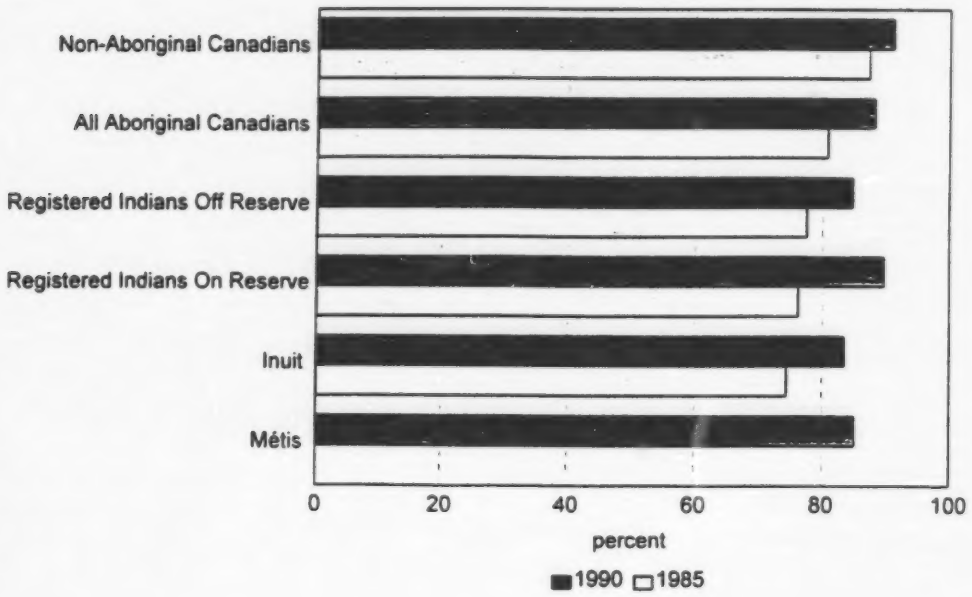
[3] Source: Statistics Canada. *1991 Census Dictionary*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1992. 1991 Census of Canada. Catalogue number 92-301E.

[4] Source: Statistics Canada. *1986 Census Handbook*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1988. 1986 Census of Canada: Catalogue number 99-104E.

Box 3-7. Persons with Income 1990, 1985[1]

Ethnicity	1990	1985
	(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	91.3	87.4
All Aboriginal Canadians	88.3	80.8
Registered Indians Off Reserve	84.8	77.6
Registered Indians On Reserve	89.8	76.3
Inuit	83.5	74.5
Métis	85.1	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 101.

General Economic Characteristics
Average Individual Income (Box 3-8)

Average individual income is an indicator that can be used to make comparisons between population groups. The average is calculated by adding together all of the income reported for a group, and dividing by the total number of individuals within the same group. In addition to group calculations, average individual income can be used for comparisons between areas.

For this indicator, average income is stated in 1986 constant dollars. Showing income in constant dollars is one way of removing the effect of inflation from the comparison. For example, if in 1990 someone's daily wage was $100 in 1986 constant dollars, this means that they could buy the same basket of goods in 1990 that they could with $100 in 1986. In fact, between 1985 and 1990, the consumer price index rose 24.5 percent, from 96 to 119.5 (1986=100). To offset the effect of inflation, individual income would have to rise at the same rate during the same time period.

Between 1990 and 1985, average income among ***Aboriginal persons*** rose from $10,833 to $14,198.[5] This represents an increase in real income of 31.1 percent, placing the incomes of Aboriginal persons well ahead of inflation over the same period. In 1985, income for Aboriginal persons averaged 57.1 percent of the non-Aboriginal population. By 1990, this had risen to 70.1 percent, indicating smaller real income gains in the non-Aboriginal population during these five years. In fact, real income among non-Aboriginal persons increased by only 6.9 percent between 1990 and 1985, rising to $20,264 per person from $18,958.

According to the 1991 Census, ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** were the only group examined in this study to report a net decrease in their average individual incomes between 1990 and 1985. In 1990, Indians on reserve reported incomes that averaged $8,812. This compares to the 1985 average individual income of $9,688, indicating a decline in real income of 9 percent between 1990 and 1985.

Registered Indians living off reserve experienced real income gains of 9.5 percent over the study period. In monetary terms, average individual income rose to $12,551 by 1990, up from $11,458 in 1985. This increase exceeded real income gains reported by non-Aboriginal persons by 2.6 percent, but were only one-third as high as income gains by Aboriginal persons between 1990 and 1985.

Average individual incomes within the ***Inuit*** community rose by 4.8 percent between 1990 and 1985. Virtually all of this increase can be attributed to rising levels of government transfer payments and employment income as components of Inuit total income (see Boxes 3.5 and 3.6). Individual Inuit income averaged $12,661 in 1990, up from $12,083 in 1985. Irrespective of income composition, in 1990 Inuit average income levels were almost identical to those reported by both the Métis and Registered Indians living off reserve.

In 1990, average Métis income stood at $12,685, 62.6 percent of the average income level for non-Aboriginal persons with income.

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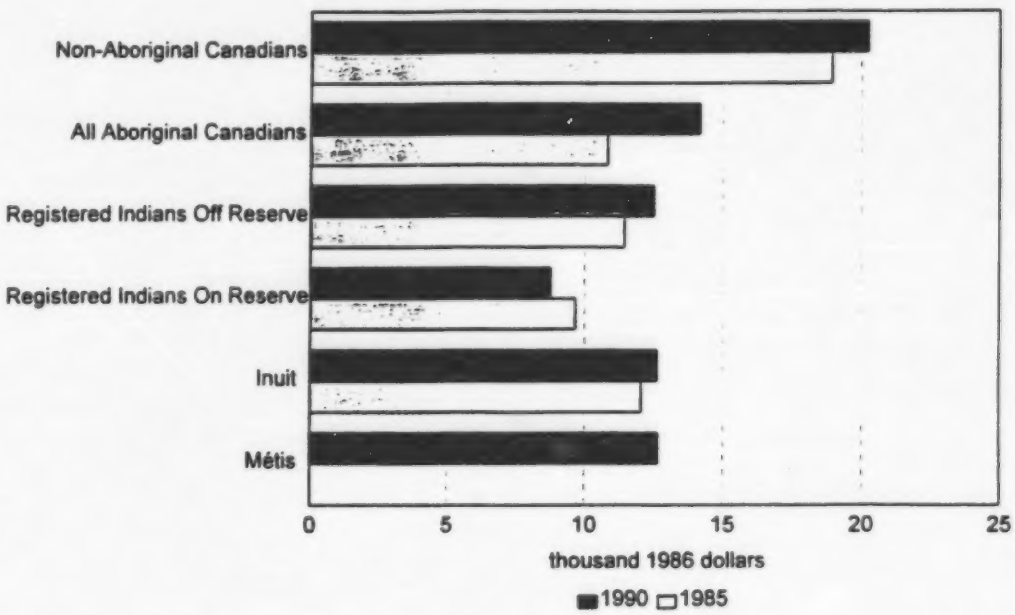
5 As used in the Census, average individual income always refers to income earned in the year preceding the censual event.

Box 3-8. Average Individual Income 1990, 1985[1]

Ethnicity	1990	1985	change
	(1986 constant $)		(percent)
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	20,264	18,958	+ 6.9
All Aboriginal Canadians	14,198	10,883	+ 30.5
Registered Indians Off Reserve	12,551	11,458	+ 9.5
Registered Indians On Reserve	8,812	9,688	- 9.0
Inuit	12,661	12,083	+ 4.8
Métis	12,685	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 103.

Educational Attainment and Economic Indicators Less than Grade Nine (Box 3-9)

Literacy and numeracy skills are inextricably linked to the economic success of individuals. In an economy that treats information as a commodity with inherent value, the capacity to interpret or manipulate information becomes a highly prized skill. According to the *Ontario Royal Commission on Learning*, literacy can be defined as "the ability to speak, listen, read, and write well enough to deal with any situation in adult life requiring this most fundamental competency."[6] Similarly, numeracy can be defined as 'the ability to compute, measure, estimate quantity, and manipulate numbers, in order to deal with the practical demands of life, including money."[7]

In general, educational attainment among ***Aboriginal persons*** remains lower than within the non-Aboriginal population. However, at every level of educational attainment, the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians narrowed between 1986 and 1991. A simple and direct measure of literacy and numeracy skills within groups can be obtained by tracking the proportion of adults aged 15 or more who have acquired ***less than grade nine*** standing (Box 9). In this report, this measure is treated as equivalent to functional illiteracy.

Continuing a trend evident between 1981 and 1986, the 1991 Census reveals that the proportion of the functionally illiterate Aboriginal adults fell to 18.4 percent in 1991 from 25.9 percent in 1986. Comparable measures for the non-Aboriginal population were 13.8 percent in 1991 and 17.3 percent in 1986. Notably, the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal adults with less than grade nine fell to 4.6 percent by 1991, down from 8.6 percent in 1986.

For ***Registered Indians living on reserve***, functional illiteracy remained extremely high relative to all other groups examined in this study. In 1991, on-reserve Indians with less than grade nine accounted for 37.2 percent of the adult population. While this figure represents a decline from the 1986 rate of 44.7 percent, it is 2.7 times the level among non-Aboriginal persons, slightly higher than reported in 1986. In 1991, 19.4 percent of the ***Registered Indian population living off reserve*** reported less than a grade nine level of education, down from 24.4 percent in 1986. This level of functional illiteracy exceeded the non-Aboriginal rate by 5.6 percent, and was 1 percent higher than the Aboriginal persons rate.

Among ***Inuit*** adults aged 15 or more, the proportion reporting less than grade nine educational attainment fell to 47.4 percent in 1991, down from 53 percent in 1986. Thus, by 1991, the rate of functional illiteracy among Inuit adults widened to 3.4 times the non-Aboriginal rate, up from 3.1 in 1986. In fact, Inuit rates of functional illiteracy were 2.6 times greater than the Aboriginal average in 1991, compared to 2 times the average reported by Aboriginal persons in 1986.

Finally, among people with ***Métis*** ancestry, 24.8 percent reported less than a grade nine level of education in 1991. This rate is most akin to the experiences of the Registered Indian population living off reserve, and is roughly double the rate experienced by the non-Aboriginal population in 1991.

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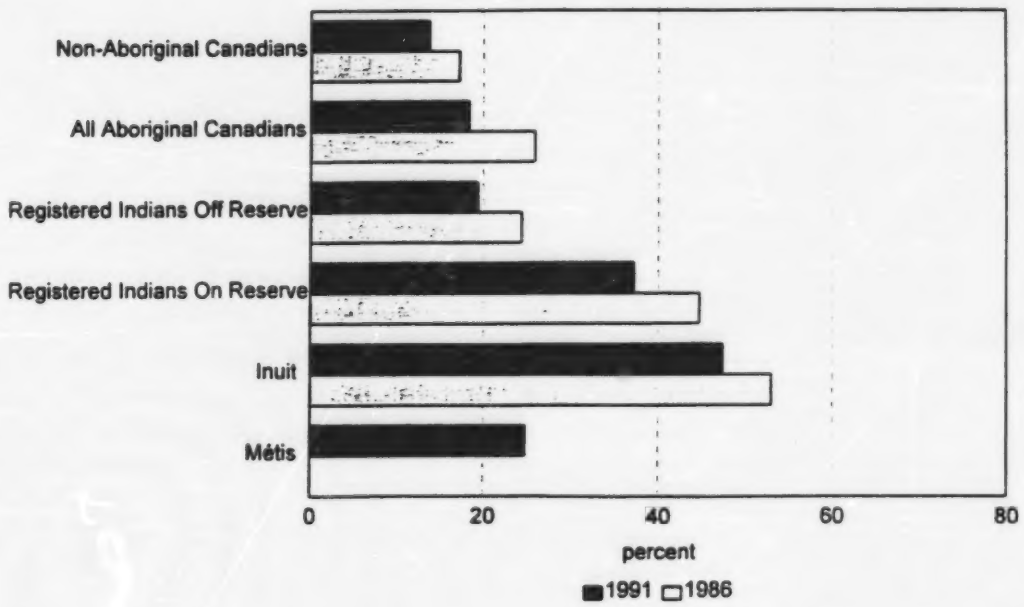
6 (1994) Report of the Royal Commission on Learning: For the Love of Learning. *Volume II: Our Vision of Schools*, p. 30. Queen's Printer for Ontario.

7 Ibid. p. 31.

Box 3-9. Education Less than Grade Nine 1991, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	1991	1986
	(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	13.8	17.3
All Aboriginal Canadians	18.4	25.9
Registered Indians Off Reserve	19.4	24.4
Registered Indians On Reserve	37.2	44.7
Inuit	47.4	53.0
Métis	24.8	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 105.

Educational Attainment and Economic Characteristics
Some Secondary or Graduation (Box 3-10 and 3-11)

While no clear line identifies the point at which some secondary schooling equates to literacy and numeracy skills, secondary experience provides the individual with a minimum set of competitive skills required for participation in the contemporary economy. Figures presented in Box 3-10 and 3-11 differentiate between people with ***secondary experience*** from ***high school graduates***. In Canada, secondary school graduation is a life determining event; one that can dictate the economic viability of the individual over time. Within most segments of the Aboriginal community, rates of exposure to secondary school and graduation rates improved during the period of study.

According to the 1991 and 1986 Censuses, the proportion of the Aboriginal population with some exposure to secondary schooling increased to 42.8 percent from 34.3 percent. This compares very favourably with the non-Aboriginal Canadian rate, which rose to 38.9 percent from 26.9 percent.

In 1991, among all ***Aboriginal persons*** aged 15 or more, some 10.7 percent had graduated from secondary school, up from 8.1 percent in 1986. Non-Aboriginal Canadians from the same age cohort reported a high school graduation rate of 14.9 percent in 1991, compared to 12.9 percent in 1986. Like every scholastic measure that directly compares the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, the gap in the high school graduation rate fell to 4.2 percent from 4.8 percent between 1986 and 1991.

The proportion of ***Registered Indians on reserve*** with some secondary schooling increased to 36.7 percent in 1991, up from 33.6 percent in 1986. While on-reserve Indians reported rates of secondary school exposure near non-Aboriginal levels, no concomitant rise in the proportion of high school graduates is evident. Thus, only 5.1 percent of Indians living on reserve were in possession of a high school diploma in 1991, one-third the rate for non-Aboriginal persons. Still, this does represent an improvement over 1986, when just 3.7 percent of on-reserve Indians reported high school graduation (three-tenths the rate among non-Aboriginal persons).

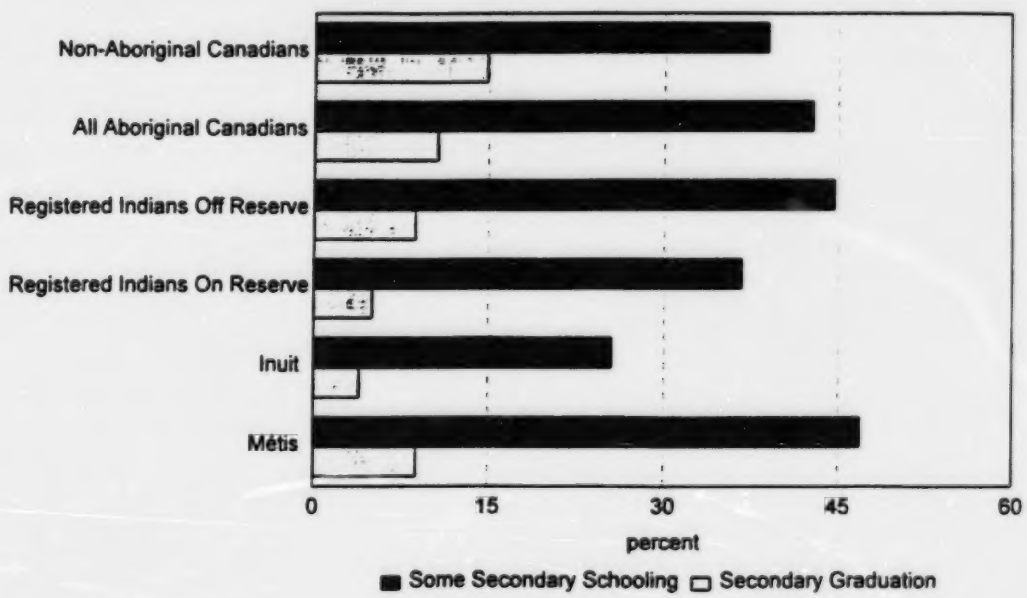
Among ***Registered Indians living off reserve***, exposure to secondary school increased dramatically during the period of study. By 1991, 44.7 percent had achieved some secondary schooling, up from 38.1 percent five years earlier. The number of Indians living off reserve who reported high school graduation increased to 8.8 percent in 1991 from 6.2 percent in 1986. A direct comparison of Indians living off reserve with all Aboriginal persons reveals that the gap in the percentage of graduates stood at 1.9 percent in both 1991 and 1986.

The ***Inuit*** continue to lag behind other Aboriginal groups in terms of both secondary school exposure and graduation rates. In 1991, only 25.6 percent of the Inuit had obtained some high school experience, up fractionally from 24.8 percent in 1986. Secondary graduation rates fell among the Inuit during the same period, to 4 percent in 1991 from 4.6 percent in 1986.

Métis success in high school is unrivalled among all of the groups examined in 1991 (Box 2), with nearly one-half of Métis aged 15 or more reporting some exposure to secondary school. As a proportion of the population aged 15 or more, the number of Métis reporting high school certification stood at 8.9 percent in 1991, three-fifths the rate of non-Aboriginal persons but 1.7 times the rate reported for Registered Indians living on reserve.

Box 3-10. Some Secondary Schooling or Graduation, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	Some Secondary	Secondary Graduation
	(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	38.9	14.9
All Aboriginal Canadians	42.8	10.7
Registered Indians Off Reserve	44.7	8.8
Registered Indians On Reserve	36.7	5.1
Inuit	25.6	4.0
Métis	46.9	8.9

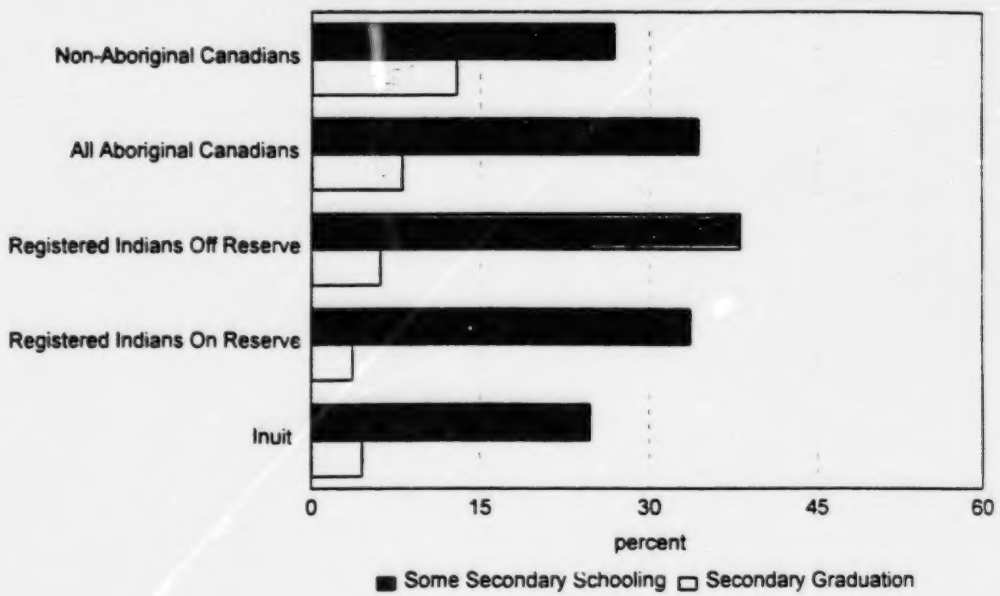


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 107.

Box 3-11. Some Secondary Schooling or Graduation, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	Some Secondary	Secondary Graduation
	(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	26.9	12.9
All Aboriginal Canadians	34.3	8.1
Registered Indians Off Reserve	38.1	6.2
Registered Indians On Reserve	33.6	3.7
Inuit	24.8	4.6
Métis	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 107.

Educational Attainment and Economic Characteristics
Labour Force Participation Rate (Box 3-12 and 3-13)

It is a truism that a direct relationship exists between educational attainment and successful adaptation to changing labour market conditions. Several indicators of individual economic success are commonly used to describe performance over time. One common measure is the ***labour force participation rate*** which is crossed, in this instance, with educational attainment levels.[8] This indicator is derived by dividing the sum of the employed and unemployed labour force (non-institutional individuals aged 15 or more) by the total population aged 15 or more. Group calculations require that the numerator and denominator both be drawn from the same population.

Box 3-12 reveals that in 1991, among ***Aboriginal persons*** the labour force participation rate increased to 64.3 percent for the entire cohort aged 15 or more, irrespective of educational attainment. This compares to the 1986 rate for the same group of 60.3 percent (Box 3-13). Finally, the non-Aboriginal participation rate was 67.9 percent in 1991, up from 66.6 percent in 1986.

Dramatic differences in labour force participation rates occur when those individuals with less than grade nine attainment are contrasted with individuals who possess post-secondary certification. For the Aboriginal population, participation rates rose from just 36.2 percent (less than grade nine) to 90 percent (university degree) by 1991. By contrast, non-Aboriginal Canadians experience participation rates of 35.7 percent (less than grade nine) and 86.6 percent (university degree).

In 1991, ***Registered Indians living on reserve*** had a labour force participation rate of just 46.8 percent, up from 43.3 percent in 1986. This represented the lowest rate reported by any group examined in this study. Among on-reserve Indians with less than grade nine attainment, the participation rate was just 31.7 percent in 1991, worse than the 1986 rate of 33.7 percent. Indians on reserve with post-secondary credentials had participation rates akin to non-Aboriginal persons.

At most levels of educational attainment, ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** were less successful than non-Aboriginal persons in both 1991 and 1986. However, the gap between Indians off reserve and non-Aboriginal persons narrows as educational attainment levels rise. As such, the discrepancy between the two groups of individuals with less than grade nine was 3 percent in 1991. Among individuals with a university degree, the participation rate for non-Aboriginal Canadians lagged behind Indians off-reserve by 1.9 percentage points.

Among the ***Inuit***, generally lower levels of educational attainment do not translate into lower levels of labour force participation. In both census years Inuit with less than grade nine experienced the highest participation rates of any group (1991 - 44.4 percent, 1986 - 47.5 percent). Notably, Inuit participation rates among the University educated rose to 87.5 percent in 1991.

Métis figures for 1991 reveal that at specific educational attainment levels, labour force participation rates are comparable to most other Aboriginal groups. Overall, Métis participation rates within the 'all levels of schooling' category were closer to the average for Aboriginal persons than any other group.

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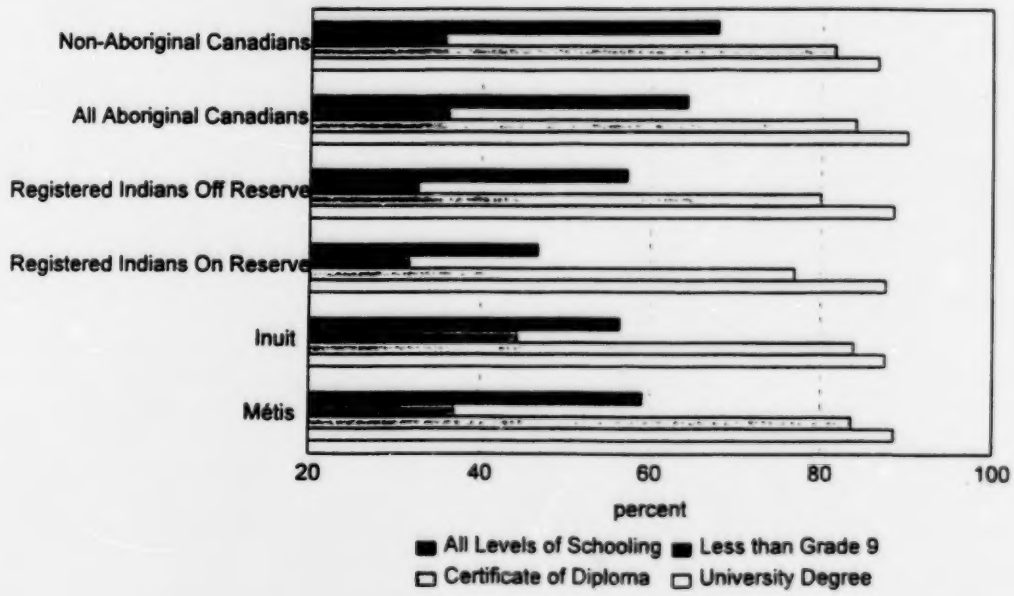
[8] Four educational attainment headings are used in Boxes 3-12 through 3-17. In each case, the category 'Certificate or Diploma' refers to post-secondary certification, not secondary graduation.

Box 3-12. Labour Force Participation Rate and Level of Schooling, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	All Levels of Schooling	Less than Grade IX	Certificate or Diploma	University Degree
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	67.9	35.7	81.6	86.6
All Aboriginal Canadians	64.3	36.2	84.1	90.0
Registered Indians Off Reserve	57.3	32.7	80.1	88.5
Registered Indians On Reserve	46.8	31.7	77.0	87.6
Inuit	56.5	44.4	83.9	87.5
Métis	59.1	37.0	83.6	88.5

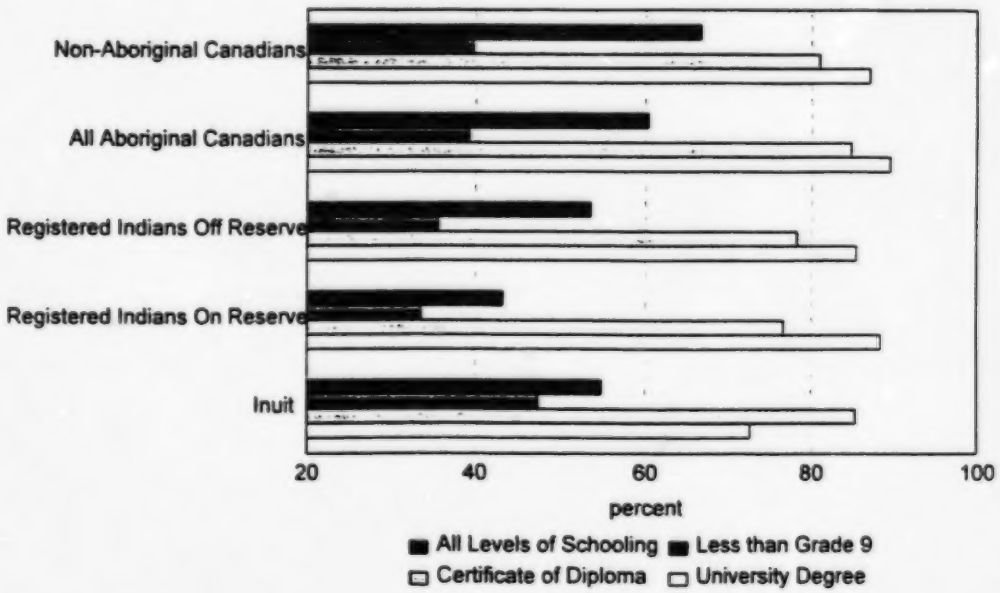


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 111.

Box 3-13. Labour Force Participation Rate and Level of Schooling, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	All Levels of Schooling	Less than Grade IX	Certificate or Diploma	University Degree
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	66.6	39.7	81.0	87.0
All Aboriginal Canadians	60.3	39.3	84.8	89.4
Registered Indians Off Reserve	56.6	35.7	78.3	85.4
Registered Indians On Reserve	43.3	33.7	76.7	88.3
Inuit	54.9	47.5	85.3	72.7
Métis	..	..	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 111.

Educational Attainment and Economic Characteristics
Unemployment Rate (Box 3-14 and 3-15)

The ***unemployment rate*** is a well-known measure of labour force health. While qualitatively different types of unemployment are distinguished by economists, a generic definition describes the unemployment rate as the ability of the economy to absorb the available labour supply at a given point in time. The unemployment rate is simply the number of unemployed persons for the reference period as a percentage of the entire labour force. For group calculations of the unemployment rate, the numerator (unemployed within group) and denominator (labour force within group) must derive from the same population.

In 1991, ***Aboriginal persons*** experienced very high levels of unemployment relative to non-Aboriginal Canadians (Box 3-14). With the exception of the university educated, for every educational attainment level examined the unemployment rate among Aboriginals was roughly double the non-Aboriginal rate. Among Aboriginal persons with less than grade nine, the gap with non-Aboriginal persons narrowed to 15.1 percent in 1991 from 29.4 percent in 1986 (Box 3-15). Within the category all levels of schooling, the rate for Aboriginal persons fell to 19.4 percent in 1991 from 22.8 percent in 1986.

For ***Registered Indians living on reserve***, unemployment fell slightly between 1986 and 1991, to 31 percent from 34.6 percent. Of all the Aboriginal populations examined here, unemployment was worst for this group, triple the rate reported by non-Aboriginal persons. Within categories, only on-reserve Indians with university degrees fared better than off-reserve Indians with the same level of education (9.6 percent versus 10 percent). At the other extreme, the overall unemployment rate of Indians living on reserve was 1.3 times higher than occurred for Indians living off reserve. Over the two census periods, it is encouraging to note that Indians living on reserve reported declining levels of unemployment within every educational attainment category examined in this study.

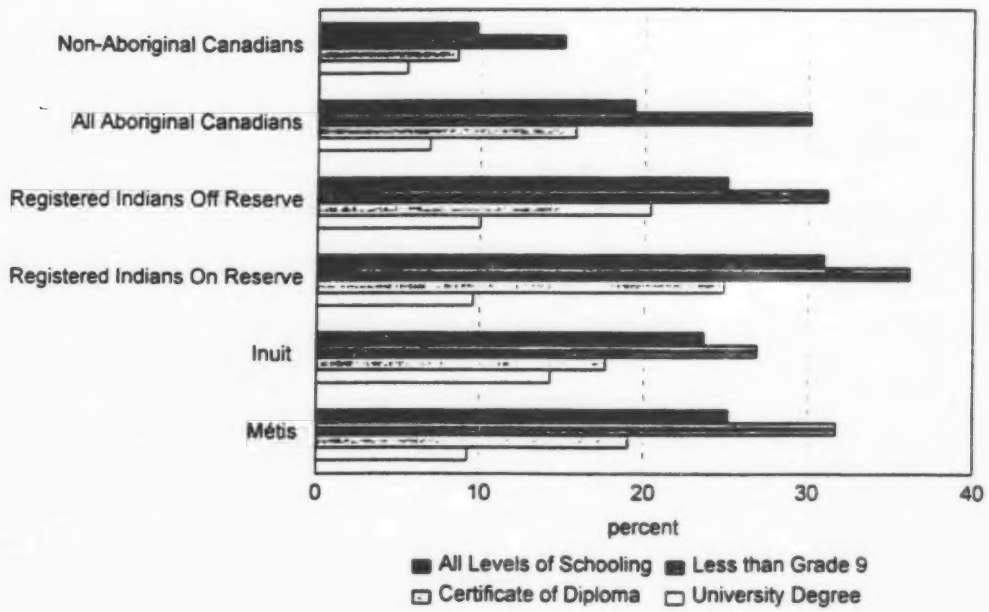
Irrespective of educational attainment, ***Registered Indians living off reserve*** reported unemployment rates between two and three times the levels experienced among the non-Aboriginal population. In general, the gap between the same two groups narrows as educational attainment rises. Compared to 1986, rates for Indians living off reserve fell in every category of educational attainment. For individuals with less than grade nine, the 1991 rate of 31.2 percent represents a vast improvement from the 40.5 percent rate reported in 1986.

Unlike other groups examined here, the relationship between unemployment rates and educational attainment was not as direct among the ***Inuit*** population in either census year. Thus, Inuit with a university degree reported an unemployment rate of 14.3 percent in 1991, 4.3 points higher than the next closest group (Indians off reserve). Despite their favourable showing compared to other Aboriginal groups, the Inuit still reported an overall unemployment rate twice that of non-Aboriginal persons.

Among the ***Métis***, 1991 unemployment rates closely parallelled the experiences of Indians living off reserve. Overall, the reported rate for all levels of schooling was two and one-half times the average for non-Aboriginal persons (25.2 percent versus 9.8 percent). For Métis with a university degree, unemployment was less than twice the rate of non-Aboriginal persons. Similarly, Métis with less than grade nine reported unemployment rates two and one-half times that of the non-Aboriginal population.

Box 3-14. Unemployment Rate and Level of Schooling, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	All Levels of Schooling	Less than Grade IX	Certificate or Diploma	University Degree
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	9.8	15.1	8.6	5.5
All Aboriginal Canadians	19.4	30.2	15.8	6.9
Registered Indians Off Reserve	25.1	31.2	20.4	10.0
Registered Indians On Reserve	31.0	36.2	24.9	9.6
Inuit	23.7	26.9	17.7	14.3
Métis	25.2	31.7	19.1	9.3

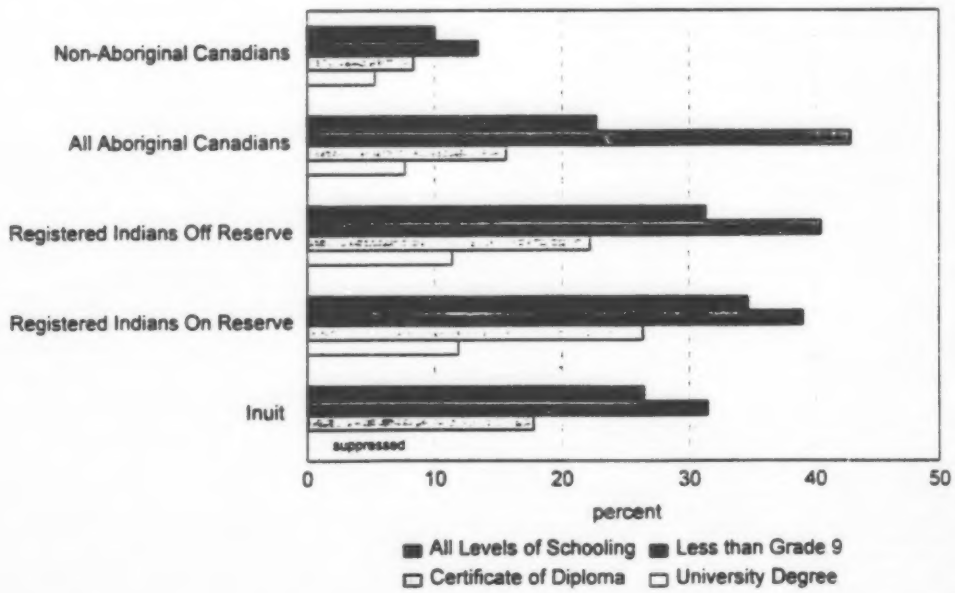


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 115.

Box 3-15. Unemployment Rate and Level of Schooling, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	All Levels of Schooling	Less than Grade IX	Certificate or Diploma	University Degree
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	10.1	13.5	8.4	5.4
All Aboriginal Canadians	22.8	42.9	15.7	7.7
Registered Indians Off Reserve	31.4	40.5	22.3	11.4
Registered Indians On Reserve	34.8	39.1	26.4	11.9
Inuit	26.5	31.5	17.8	XXX
Métis	..	..	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 115.

Educational Attainment and Economic Characteristics
Employment Ratio (Box 3-16 and 3-17)

Boxes 3-16 and 3-17 present a less familiar indicator of individual economic involvement, the ***employment/population ratio*** (hereafter referred to as the employment ratio). The principal insight afforded by this indicator is its succinct assessment of the extent to which the capacity of a labour pool is being utilized. The ratio is calculated by expressing the employed labour force as a percentage of the population aged 15 or more. The employment/population ratio should not be confused with the employment rate (see page 89). Determining the ratio for a particular group requires that the numerator and denominator be taken from the same group.

For the ***Aboriginal population*** as a whole, the employment ratio improved to 51.8 percent in 1991, up sharply from the 46.6 percent rate reported in 1986. As well, the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal employment ratios narrowed to 9.7 percent in 1991 from 13.3 percent in 1986.

As previous economic indicators reveal, the higher an individual's educational attainment, the narrower the discrepancy between Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal persons in the employment ratio becomes. Thus, Aboriginal persons with a university degree were able to match their skills to labour market demands more successfully than non-Aboriginal persons with the same level of education.

Registered Indians living on reserve fared better than the off-reserve population, experiencing an overall employment ratio of 32.3 percent in 1991. This compares to a 1986 level of 28.2 percent. In some categories (less than grade nine; certificate or diploma) on-reserve Indians reported the lowest employment ratios of any group presented in this study. In one category (less than grade nine) the employment ratio worsened for the group between 1986 and 1991.

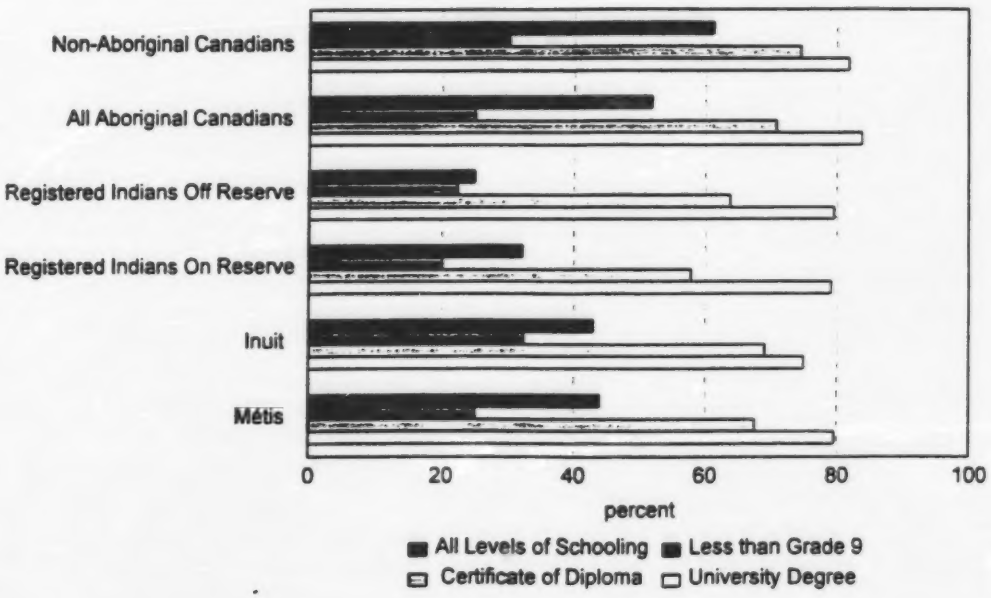
Registered Indians residing off reserve had an especially difficult time matching their collective skills to prevailing labour market conditions in 1991. Within the 'all levels of schooling' category, the employment ratio was just 25.1 percent, down from 36.8 percent in 1986. In every educational attainment category, Registered Indians living off reserve experienced lower employment ratios than was reported within the 'all Aboriginal persons' grouping.

Inuit employment levels were generally 'midway' between the best and worst cases identified in Boxes 3-16 and 3-17. In general, Inuit employment ratios do not improve in a manner akin to other Aboriginal groups as educational attainment rises. Overall, higher employment ratios characterized the Inuit in both 1991 (43 percent) and 1986 (40.1 percent). Similarly, no other group fared as well in the 'less than grade nine' category, where the Inuit reported an employment ratio of 32.5 percent in 1991.

People reporting ***Métis*** ancestry in the 1991 Census were characterized by an overall employment ratio of 44 percent. This compared favourably with both Registered Indian and Inuit peoples, but was only three-fifths the rate reported by the non-Aboriginal population. No substantial differences between Métis people and other Aboriginal groups are discernable within either the 'university' or 'certificate or diploma' categories. Finally, repeating a tendency common to other Aboriginal ethnicities, the gap in the Métis/non-Aboriginal employment ratio declines as education levels rise.

Box 3-16. Employment Ratio and Level of Schooling, 1991[1]

Ethnicity	All Levels of Schooling	Less than Grade IX	Certificate or Diploma	University Degree
			(percent)	
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	61.3	30.3	74.6	81.8
All Aboriginal Canadians	51.8	25.2	70.8	83.8
Registered Indians Off Reserve	25.1	22.5	63.8	79.6
Registered Indians On Reserve	32.3	20.2	57.8	79.1
Inuit	43.0	32.5	69.1	75.0
Métis	44.0	25.2	67.6	79.6

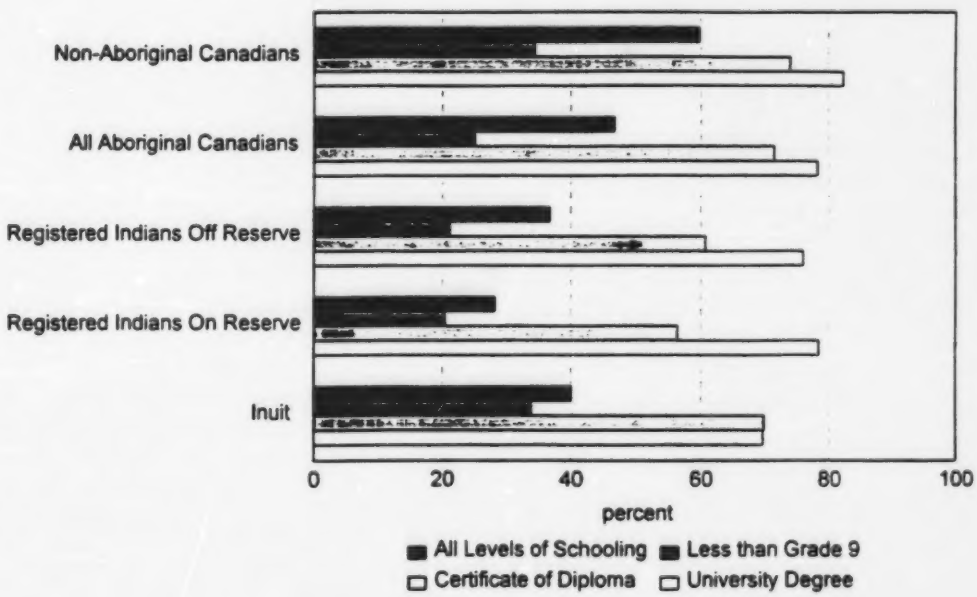


Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 119.

Box 3-17. Employment Ratio and Level of Schooling, 1986[1]

Ethnicity	All Levels of Schooling	Less than Grade IX	Certificate or Diploma	University Degree
		(percent)		
Non-Aboriginal Canadians	59.9	34.5	74.2	82.3
All Aboriginal Canadians	46.6	25.1	71.5	78.2
Registered Indians Off Reserve	36.8	21.2	60.8	76.0
Registered Indians On Reserve	28.2	20.5	56.4	78.4
Inuit	40.1	33.9	69.9	69.7
Métis	..	..	..	..



Source:
Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Customized Census Tabulations

[1] For a detailed discussion, see page 119.